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ABSTRACT

The theme of the third annual Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) Conference was Endangered Languages and Education, focusing on how education can be used to promote, resist, and reverse the decline of a language. The conference papers are broken into several sections covering the topic from a variety of aspects and perspectives. "Finding a Policy" looks at the more general issues of how to proceed when the old link between the language and the traditional culture seems to be fraying. The question is considered in three North and South American contexts (among North Dakota American Indians, the Amish community, and Mayans in Guatemala), as well as for the Saami in Norway and the Irish under British rule. "Looking at Learners" switches the focus to the pupils in the education process, surveying attitudes and assessing acquired proficiency in Brittany and New Zealand, where there is a single minority language and a single metropolitan language. In "Working with Non-Written Languages", the special problems of making a bridge between oral and written language education comes to the fore. "Ways and Means" examines practical measures that can be taken to get teaching and learning organized. The examples of Maori in New Zealand and Khoisan in Namibia are examined. The "Role of Standard Dialects" is considered using the case of the disruption of language transmission among Basque dialects in Spain. Finally, "Impacts and Future Prospects" examines the overall impact that education programs seem to be having in preserving endangered languages. (KFT)

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Endangered Languages
and
Education

Proceedings of the Third FEL Conference

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
National University of Ireland

17—19 September 1999

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The Foundation for Endangered Languages
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is based at

Batheaston Villa
172 Bailbrook Lane
Bath BA1 7AA
England

tel +44-1225-852865
fax +44-1225-859258

e-mail nostler@chibcha.demon.co.uk

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Endangered Languages and Education

Foundation for Endangered Languages
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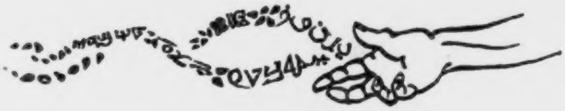

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Setting the Scene

Foreword and Prospect

Endangered Languages and Education

Nicholas Ostler
Conference Chairman, and
President, Foundation for Endangered Languages
[nostler@chibcha.demon.co.uk]

When a language is endangered, it is because the community who use it may cease to do so the foreseeable future. This is often because new generations of the community are not acquiring the language, or if they do, are not using it so much as speakers in the past.

Education, seen as any formal process whereby knowledge is passed on to new people, usually plays an important part in such changes. But it may act to promote, resist or even reverse the loss of a language:

- the knowledge or values passed on may be difficult to combine with a community's traditions as expressed in its ancestral language;
- the transition from oral to literate culture, or from paper-based to electronic media, may threaten a breakdown in transmission;
- the very procedure of formal education may disrupt the traditional transmission of the language;
- there may be controversy on what language should be used in formal education;
- there may be doubt whether there is scope in later life to apply what is taught;
- there may be perplexity on what methods may best be used in modern circumstances to transmit knowledge from older days;
- members of the community may have difficulty in fitting into the education system of the state as a whole, and hence find it hard to achieve their rightful political influence;
- public ignorance in democracies may be a threat to benign national policy towards their smaller languages.

All these issues, and more, are relevant to our conference this year.

One fundamental tension is that while organized education may be a threat to traditional culture and language (bringing foreign elements to the explicit attention of pupils), people once educated are more likely to resist unwanted intrusions from outsiders, and build confidence in their own traditions.

- So how can education programmes be formulated with clear reference to, and respect for, local culture?
- Who will be the teachers in such programmes, and how can they be trained?
- In setting up such programmes, is there a useful role for international organizations (as FEL) to help in negotiations with local administrations or national governments, and indeed international programmes?

In some communities, particularly in Europe, there is no such conflict between prevailing models of education and the traditions of the language community. Nevertheless, there may be controversy on the role of a local or regional language in formal education.

- Ethically and empirically, what is the right balance between option and compulsion in the curriculum?
- How does the role for minority languages bear on the balance between mother-tongue and foreign-language instruction?

Our conference aims to bring the concerns of "ethno-education", where education mediates between cultures that have been separate, into contrast with those of "bi-lingual education", where there has been traditional co-existence, but the smaller language may be losing out.

This year we have as far as possible integrated the shorter talks, offered for the "Open Forum", and represented in this volume by their abstracts, into the relevant sessions of the conference.

The conference begins with a *Keynote* paper on the languages of Yunnan in China, which brings out many of the points in relation to a variety of small minorities, more or less distinguished within the enveloping major language context of Chinese.

The section *Finding a Policy* looks at the more general issues of how to proceed when the old link between language and traditional culture seems to be fraying. The question is considered in three American contexts: some North Dakota tribal languages, small islands inter-penetrated by English language and US culture; the Amish community, a relatively recent establishment that is no less threatened by its Anglo surrounds; and the Mayans of Guatemala, where socio-political threats are found even where language speakers are in a local majority. Different aspects are also mentioned briefly for Saami, where Norway has effectively conducted a comparative experiment on the effects of immersion and non-immersion, and Irish under British administration, which has fared somewhat better than expected despite the declared policy.

Looking at the Learners switches the focus to the pupils in the education process, surveying attitudes, and assessing acquired proficiency, in Brittany and New Zealand, two communities where there is a single minority language and a single metropolitan language. We also briefly look at child involvement in the attempt to re-awaken Parkatêjê, a small language of the Brazilian Amazon.

In *Working with Non-written Languages*, the special problems of making the bridge between oral and written education come to the fore. The special problems in the tiny Tuscarora-speaking community near Niagara are considered by active members, while a UK project to create a corpus of texts in a largely oral Bangladeshi language, Sylheti, takes a quite different approach to a much larger, but much more scattered, language community. We also have a brief contribution on the potential role for computing[1].

Ways and Means is about practical measures to get teaching and learning organized. Its major case study is Māori, and the Whaka Piki Reo programme of teacher training. But there also briefer account of involving teachers for a Khoisan language in Namibia; and at the other end of the spectrum, the use that a small national language can make of its new global access to materials.

One problem that almost always asserts itself when formal instruction is planned is the status of different *Dialects*: potentially invidious distinctions must be made when a standard is chosen from among them. In this conference, we look at this problem particularly in the context of the European language Basque.

Finally, we look at the overall impact that particularly education programmes seems to be having. Our examples are far-flung, drawing evidence from the surprising survival of Shipibo on the Amazon, the ambivalent prospects of Irish with its state-supported teaching, the positive effects of immersion education in Māori. These fuller accounts can be compared with sketches of the prospects for Amazigh in North Africa, where more is promised by governments than is ever delivered, and Latvian on the Baltic, where the government is active and sympathetic, but perhaps no match for global forces.

International activity on behalf of endangered languages continues to develop, and the last abstract here announces the new UNESCO Advisory Committee for Linguistic Pluralism and Multilingual Education.

The conference also hosts the fourth Annual General Meeting of the Foundation for Endangered Languages. It will set the course of the Foundation for the coming year, and so it is good that all attendees at the conference should have a copy of its Manifesto to hand. This is then the last item in this volume.

Acknowledgements

Besides myself, the Programme Committee consisted of Akira Yamamoto, Chris Moseley, David Nash, Donncha ó Croinín, Jane Simpson, Jon Reyhner, Karen Johnson Weiner, Ken Mackinnon, Kim McCone, Mahendra Verma, Margaret Allen, Mari Rhydwen, Nigel Birch, Tasaku Tsunoda, Tony McEnery, Tony Woodbury; and the Editor thanks them all for their timely help in evaluating the abstracts submitted, as well as for their guidance to the authors.

The Foundation also thanks Ireland's Bord na Gaeilge, which has awarded us a grant in aid of our event; and all those who by charitable contributions have strengthened our abilities to act in favour of endangered languages .

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[1] although this will not be presented owing to the speaker's unavoidable absence through illness.

Language Maintenance for Endangered Languages of Central Yunnan, China

David Bradley
Department of Linguistics
La Trobe University
Bundoora VIC 3083, Australia
[d.bradley@latrobe.edu.au]

Maya Bradley
Department of Linguistics
La Trobe University
Bundoora VIC 3083, Australia

Li Yongxiang
Institute of Nationality Literatures
Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences
Kunming, Yunnan 650032, PR China

Abstract

The paper will first outline China's policies for minority languages in education, and then discuss a case study from Yunnan Province in southwestern China.

In China all minorities have a constitutional right to maintain their languages, but quite a few have chosen not to. Also, most nationalities are an amalgamation of a large number of distinct groups speaking related but different languages; so the 'standard' variety of a minority language is an unfamiliar second language for many members of that nationality.

From 1996 to 1998 we surveyed an area of five counties in Yunnan, locating several endangered languages, some undescribed or even unreported. These are spoken by members of the Yi nationality, a very diverse group of about 7 million containing very many distinct but related languages.

We observed the introduction of a new Restored Yunnan Yi orthography to the schools in 1996. The orthography is a character-based one which does not indicate pronunciation, but there is no official provision for this; they are 'all the same nationality'. Each language within the Yi nationality is different, so language-specific transcription is needed, especially where most children do not speak their traditional language.

Language Policy in China

China is a multiethnic country with 55 national minorities and the Han Chinese majority; the minorities are about nine per cent of the total population. China's nationalities policy follows that of the former Soviet Union: small tribes and groups are amalgamated into larger nationalities. This process took place during the early 1950s, with one addition in the late 1970s. There is an ongoing process of amalgamating small 'unclassified' minority groups into existing nationalities.

For each nationality, a 'standard' language variety is chosen.[1] The choice is determined by numerical, geographical, intelligibility and economic factors, and was made for most groups in the late 1950s. Where the same nationality is numerous in more than one administrative unit, a different 'standard' variety is sometimes chosen in different areas.

Many resulting nationalities are composite groups including quite diverse languages; if the same level of classification had been applied in a unified Europe, there would be one Romance nationality, one Slavic nationality, one Germanic nationality, and Basque, Celtic, Finnish/Estonian, Greek, Hungarian, Romani and possibly Baltic minorities; but maybe Baltic would be regarded as a divergent dialect of Slavic. To continue the analogy, imagine that for each of these composite nationalities, one variety was chosen as the standard; such as the Italian 'dialect' for the Romance nationality, the Russian 'dialect' for the Slavic nationality, the English 'dialect' for the Germanic nationality, and so on. The degree of lumping in nationality formation in China is this great, and much more than that applied in the former Soviet Union or in adjacent countries with similar systems, such as Vietnam and Laos; so curiously there are groups which are amalgamated into one nationality in China, but subgroups within this nationality are classified as two or more distinct nationalities in Russia, Vietnam or Laos.[2] Another neighboring country, India, has an extreme splitting policy following the model of its caste system; so for example over fifty distinct scheduled[3] tribes of northeastern India are all classified within the single Luoba nationality in the adjacent Tibetan Autonomous Region.

The 1982 Constitution of China (Article 4) states that 'The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages ...'. It provides for autonomous administrative units for national minorities at various levels (Article 30) within which education and culture are a local responsibility (Article 119) and the local languages can be used in administration (Article 121) and the courts (Article 134). However there is a national priority for the promotion of **Putonghua** or standard Chinese throughout the country (Article 19), and the local autonomous governments are also able to choose not to use minority languages; in fact at various times of political crisis, such as the anti-rightist movement of the late 1950s[4] and the Cultural Revolution of the mid-1960s to early 1970s, official promotion and use of minority languages stopped in most areas. In the late 1950s there was a lot of linguistic work done, but little was implemented before the political ructions from 1958 and especially from 1964 to 1973. Minority language work and language education in minority languages restarted in the mid-1970s and flourished for about twenty years; but with 'the Chinese way to socialism' of the 1990s (free enterprise in competition with state enterprises), governments at all levels have been decreasing their support for minority language activities including education, publishing and research.

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[1] The sole exception is the Hui nationality who are Chinese-speaking Muslim with no distinct language.

[2] For example, the quite diverse Southern Yi subgroup within Yi includes, among various others, the Nisu and Pula; but in Vietnam these are recognised as separate nationalities, the Lôlô and Phula.

[3] That is, listed in the official inventory of tribal groups.

[4] One aspect of this movement was the military overthrow of

In principle matters relating to minorities are controlled by the Nationality Affairs Commission, a ministry which exists at the national level, the province or autonomous region level, and at the prefecture and county level where there are substantial numbers of non-Han Chinese; it has substantial input on minority language issues, often through provincial, prefectural or county language offices or language sections of cultural offices; a provincial level nationalities publisher; provincial or more local radio and print media; and so on. However education is controlled by the Education Commission, another ministry; curiously, even the main university-level education system intended for national minorities, the institutes of national minorities, is under the Education Commission. In practice decisions about minority language education in primary school are made by local prefecture and county governments, under sometimes conflicting directives from Nationality Affairs and Education Commissions at the next level up. Teachers for minority language education as well as other kinds of language workers are trained in provincial, prefectural or county teacher institutes or in minority language departments of the institutes of nationalities.

Administrative Framework in Yunnan

Yunnan Province has a high proportion of minorities among its population, but because there is no one preponderant national minority, it has not been designated as an Autonomous Region like Tibet, Xinjiang, Guangxi, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia. It contains 17 prefecture-level administrative units, eight of which are autonomous prefectures designated for one or two specific national minorities. Of its 127 county-level units, 59 are included within an autonomous prefecture and a further 27, including 9 within autonomous prefectures, are designated as autonomous counties for one or more different national minorities. Thus more than 60 per cent of the county-level units are under nominal minority control. The head of the government and the party secretary[5] as well as many lower-level officials in an autonomous administrative unit are usually members of one of the local minorities.

However the elite of administration and the party are the most Sinicised of their nationality; many are now second generation cadres who have been educated, lived and worked mainly in Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, or other Chinese-speaking towns. Quite a few do not speak the language of their nationality; a surprising number are from mixed marriages - the ultimate form of nationalities unity[6] - and have a Han Chinese parent or a parent from some nationality other than the one which they have chosen from their other parent.[7] This elite makes the decisions about language education; in many cases they do not see the economic benefit of language maintenance, and so minority language education was not restarted in some areas in the 1970s, or has since been dropped.[8]

The Yi Nationality

The four million Yi[9] are the most numerous non-Han Chinese nationality in Yunnan; there are 2.6 million Yi in other provinces, mainly in Sichuan and Guizhou with a few in Guangxi. The name of this group is a post-1950 innovation, replacing the former term 'Lolo' which some regard as pejorative but others still use. In Yunnan the Yi are the sole nationality in the name of Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Prefecture, the second of two in Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture, and the sole or joint named nationality in 15 further counties in addition to the 20 county-level units within Chuxiong and Honghe not assigned to other nationalities. Apart from these 35 county-level units where they are particularly concentrated, there are substantial numbers of Yi in most other counties in the province, as well as in one autonomous prefecture in Sichuan and further autonomous counties in Sichuan, Guizhou and Guangxi to the north and east of Yunnan.

Linguists in China divide the Yi 'language' into six 'dialects', Northern, Eastern, Southeastern, Southern, Central and Western, each of which has a great deal of internal diversity. All six are spoken in Yunnan; in Sichuan most Yi speak Northern, with a few Central speakers; in Guizhou and Guangxi varieties of the Eastern dialect are spoken.

The issue of 'standard' choice is therefore less problematic outside Yunnan. In Sichuan the central and numerically largest variety of Northern Yi, Shengza (as also spoken in northwestern Yunnan) has been selected, standardised and widely disseminated. Speakers of other varieties of Northern Yi need to learn this 'standard' variety in order to become literate, as the orthography is a syllabary based on the sounds of this variety. In Guizhou the traditional Yi characters have been adapted for wider use, allowing

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local 'feudal' leaders such as the Dalai Lama in Tibet and the Yi nobles in southern Sichuan, as well as all those who had been **tusi** or traditional local minority rulers on behalf of the Chinese throughout the country.

[5] Head of the local Communist Party.

[6] Along with the indivisible nature of China, nationalities unity is a touchstone of China's national policy.

[7] Children are assigned to one nationality by their parents, but may choose either of their parents' nationalities when they reach 18, or later by special request. Massive increases in the population of many national minorities between the 1982 and 1990 censuses are partly due to people with one non-Han Chinese parent or grandparent reclaiming their minority identity.

[8] As an interesting contrast, the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities now has some special language courses for children of cadres who live in town and do not speak their nationality's language to learn it from scratch.

[9] All population figures are from the 1990 census.

Sa'nguie subvariety is moribund to severely endangered in ten villages around the western suburbs of Kunming City; in the closest villages the youngest fluent speakers are in their sixties, with few semispeakers as there was an abrupt transmission failure from the 1950s when schools were set up. Western Sanie is endangered to severely endangered everywhere it is spoken; few children are now acquiring it. There are four other villages where both Sanie and Nasu live together; in these villages the dominant language is Nasu. Sanie there and in nearby villages also use some Nasu loanwords in their Sanie, probably reflecting more extensive knowledge of Nasu at an earlier stage. Sanie are not aware of any previous tradition of literacy, and in Chinese they call themselves Bai Yi ('White Yi') which is a general cover term for many of the more Sinicised groups of Yi. Some Sanie believe that they were the traditional charcoal sellers of Kunming,[14] and most have traditions that trace them back to places which are now in the inner western suburbs of the city, considerably closer than they now are.

Samei (the Chinese name for this group) or Sani (the indigenous name) are found in 42 villages in Guandu Ward to the southeast of Kunming; unlike Sanie, which is only spoken within the area surveyed, there are also a few Samei villages in Yiliang County further east. This language is extinct in some villages, moribund in others, severely endangered or endangered in some, but still transmitted to children, though in fewer domains, in some remote villages and in a cluster of less remote villages around Ala, about 20 kilometres southeast of the centre of Kunming. Samei had an indigenous literary tradition similar to that of the Nasu, and some books still exist; but no one can read them as the last fully literate shaman died in the early 1990s. A few examples can be seen in Xie (1987) which is an ethnographic account of a village near Ala. The language is undescribed apart from a couple of short internally-published articles and a wordlist in a rather poor transcription.

One reason that the Sanie and Samei languages have not been described is that their autonyms are so similar to the Chinese name of the main Yi group in Shilin County, the Sani. However, that Sani is a Southeastern Yi language with a separate and rather different literary tradition. Apart from Na Jiankun, a semispeaker who spent her entire career teaching Chinese in Guizhou, no Sanie has ever had linguistic training.[15] The only linguistically-trained Samei person, Bao Wenfeng, is a semispeaker who studied Lisu at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities, married a Lisu fellow student and works in a local museum.

Samataw, sometimes referred to in local Chinese administrative materials as Samaduo, is the language of one large village, Zijun or Da'er, about ten kilometres south of the centre of Kunming; it is also sometimes called Zijun speech. The language is undescribed and moribund. Fluent speakers are all over 60, with the youngest semispeakers in their forties. The local government has designated a local teacher who is a semispeaker to teach the language to children in the school, and when we visited he was using the 1991 picture primer to teach this class; but the children (and their parents) do not speak the language at all, despite these efforts. The village appears to have maintained its identity, though not its language, by growing flowers for the Kunming market. They have no tradition of writing, and no history of migration from elsewhere.

Linguistically these five languages are quite close; a Nasu linguist colleague claims to understand a substantial part of the other four. However Sanie who also speak Nasu in the four mixed villages and elsewhere regard themselves as bilingual. Village people do not understand the language of other Eastern Yi groups; even within Sanie, differences are so substantial that intelligibility is far from complete. Separate Christian Scriptures were prepared for Nasu and Gepo, meaning that the missionaries and their local co-workers felt that these two, which are more similar to each other than to the other three, are nevertheless distinct languages. Despite the similarity of some names, all are very different from the Sani of Shilin County.

Southern Yi

The Southern Yi are very numerous and widespread in Yuxi Prefecture, Honghe Autonomous Prefecture, southeastern Chuxiong Autonomous Prefecture, and eastern Simao Prefecture to the south of Kunming. The northernmost of these Southern Yi are in 33 villages in southwestern Jinning County, south of Kunming. There they call themselves Nasu, which like the Hei Yi autonym Nasu means 'black people', the former Yi nobility. Further south most Southern Yi call themselves Nisu or Niesu, with a different pronunciation of 'black'. The third author is a speaker of a variety of Niesu, and found that all the Nasu in Jinning speak something very close to his own speech, though probably a non-linguist from this area would have difficulty in understanding Nisu or Niesu from further south as there are substantial vocabulary and sound change differences. There are also three villages somewhat closer to the Jinning county town who do not speak any Yi or know what kind of Yi they are; these were most likely also Southern Yi. There is an indigenous tradition of writing among the Southern Yi, but it has not survived in this area. While the phonology and lexicon of one variety of Niesu from further south, that of the third author, is fairly well known, and some texts have been published, no widespread dialect survey or grammatical analysis has been done, and so much more work is needed here too.

Central Yi

Miqie is a Central Yi language very similar to Lipo and Lolopo, which are also classified as Yi; and almost as similar to Lisu, which is classified as a separate nationality. The Miqie are also known as Micha, Mincha and other alternative versions of their autonym, according to local dialect differences. They are sometimes known as Mielang in Chinese, and are the 'Basket Tribe' known to Christian missionaries working in this area in the first half of the twentieth century. A Nasu colleague reports that some Miqie use Nasu writing to represent their language phonetically, but we have not encountered Miqie who are literate in this way in the area surveyed.

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[14] This may be based on a false etymology: in western Sanie the group's autonym and 'charcoal' are homophonous, but not in eastern Sa'nguie.

[15] Unfortunately Prof Na recently passed away.

A Lipo speaker from two counties westwards who visited a Miqie village with us in late 1998 said he found about 30 per cent intelligibility, but appeared to be able to communicate moderately well; while a Lisu speaker from western Yunnan who also went with us found it impossible despite very high cognacy of vocabulary. The Miqie are an extremely scattered group who can also be found across Chuxiong Autonomous Prefecture, Dali, Lincang and northern Simao prefectures in western central Yunnan. A few Miqie married into a Lahu community from Simao Prefecture which later moved into Burma after 1950 and to northern Thailand in 1971.

In the Kunming region, there are nine villages of Miqie: one in southeastern Anning and three nearby in southwestern Jinning where the language is moribund or dead, and five in northwestern Fumin where the language is surviving moderately well in reduced domains. The latter are adjacent to other Miqie-speaking villages in southern Luquan and southeastern Wuding counties. These Miqie believe that they migrated from Dali Prefecture, which makes linguistic and historical sense. The language is undescribed.

Northern Yi

The Nisu in five villages of northwestern Fumin County and one village in northwestern Anning County are known in Chinese as Huang Yi ('Yellow Yi'), and have a tradition that they came from Sichuan. Linguistically they are the southernmost extension of the Northern Yi, who are mainly in Sichuan and northwestern Yunnan. These Nisu speak a southern variety of Northern Yi similar to Adur as spoken in Puge, Huidong and Huili counties in Sichuan, and in the northernmost parts of Yuanmou, Wuding and Luquan counties just south of the Sichuan border.[16] Here, they have no recollection of writing, and their language is endangered to moribund though very much alive further north. Though their villlages are quite remote, here their language is much less healthy than that of nearby Nasu and Sanie villages.

The data from our survey includes a comparative vocabulary using the picture primer and supplementary materials from over 30 locations including a wide range of distinct subtypes of Sanie, Samei, Eastern Nasu and Southern Nasu as well as two Miqie, two Nisu, one Gepo and the only Samataw villages. We also elicited local history, toponyms, and surnames where possible. We have already reported to the provincial government and sent a briefer report with a letter of thanks and copies of pictures taken there to the officials of villages surveyed and to speakers interviewed. A non-technical summary of the results has also been published in a recent issue of *Shan Cha*, the popular magazine of the Institute of Nationality Literature, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences. A more scholarly version is to appear in a volume soon to be published by the Central University of Nationalities in Beijing. All the above reports and publications are in Chinese, but an English version is also under preparation.

Language in Education and Public Life

Because everyone in this area speaks Chinese and all economic and political life is conducted in Chinese, it is unrealistic and undesirable to attempt a return to monolingual separateness among the Yi around Kunming. One of the triggers for the universal spread of Chinese has been the extension of schools into relatively remote minority areas since 1950. This has also led to more or less abrupt transmission breakdown in some areas, especially but not exclusively those which are less remote.

National minorities in China have some privileges, including financial subsidies through local governments, designated positions in the government and the party, quotas or relaxed selection procedures for things such as university entry, and in rural areas the right to more children than Han Chinese people. They also have their own ministry-level organisation, the Nationalities Affairs Commission, in areas with substantial minority population.

Efforts to promote Yi identity have been somewhat tokenistic around Kunming. The main visible evidence is public signs and banners. At Chejiabi, a Sanie village on a main road next to the Kunming power station, a new village gate with the village name in Chinese and in Yunnan Yi characters was put up in 1994, and a refurbished park next to the village has wall paintings with captions in Yi characters. However, in this village the language is moribund. All speakers are over 60, the local government has made no effort to teach the language in the school, and the Yi characters had to be copied from materials supplied by the provincial Nationality Affairs Commission.

Similarly, at Zijun the local government has a few banners in its office using Yunnan Yi characters along with Chinese characters; these are used in parades. Children are dressed up in colorful costumes for such parades, but these appear to bear little relation to local traditional clothing; rather, they draw on Sani clothing styles from Shilin County, but in different colours. At least in Zijun village the government has taken advantage of subsidies available from the Nationality Affairs Commission and was teaching Yunnan Yi with local pronunciation in the primary school in 1995 and 1996.

The Yi section of the Department of Nationality Languages of the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities was established in 1982, and as noted above taught only Northern Yi for its first few years, though this stopped in mid-1996 when the first and only four-year class graduated and the teachers returned to Sichuan. In September 1985 the department started to teach local varieties of Yi including Sani (southeastern), Nasu (eastern) and Nisu (southern). Annual classes of about 20 have started a four-year course since then; from June 1989 to June 1995 people to use their local pronunciation. In Guangxi there are too few Yi for local government to use it in education.

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[16] Adur is quite different from the 'standard' Northern Yi variety selected and disseminated through education in Sichuan. Nisu or Huang Yi is again somewhat different from Adur, though not as distinct as the various subvarieties of Sanie/Sa'nguie or of Nasu/Hei Yi are from each other.

The area of northwestern Yunnan where Northern Yi is spoken is mainly Ninglang County but also in other parts of Lijiang Prefecture.[10] One class of teachers for this area were trained at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities in Kunming by Yi teachers sent from the Southwest Institute of Nationalities in Sichuan from 1982 to 1986, but since then students have been sent to Chengdu to study Northern Yi at the Southwest Institute of Nationalities. This variety of Yi has over 2 million speakers, mainly in Sichuan. It has seen a real explosion of linguistic development since a new syllabic script was officially recognised in 1980. This is now is taught to students in primary, secondary and three tertiary institutions (in Zhaojue, Xichang and Chengdu), has textbooks available up to university level (for science, mathematics, and other subject areas as well as language and history), is used for an impressive range of grammars, dictionaries, traditional and modern literature, adult literacy, medical and agricultural handbooks, political and other materials, and has a daily newspaper published at Xichang, the capital of the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan. It is widely used in local government, and can be seen alongside Chinese on government signs and notices. In more remote areas there are even some monolingual signs. Original linguistic research of all kinds by Yi linguists is published in this variety of Yi. 100 per cent literacy is claimed for some counties, mainly those where the 'standard' is the local type of Yi; fairly high literacy has been achieved even elsewhere, though mainly in Sichuan. Many local Chinese cadres and some foreigners have learned it.

In Guizhou trial versions of language teaching materials for children and for adult literacy started to appear in 1982. The first class of Yi language students entered the Guizhou Institute of Nationalities in 1983 and graduated in 1987; other main centres of linguistic research are the Guizhou Nationalities Publishing House, the Guizhou Nationalities Research Institute and other units in Bijie Prefecture and in Weining Yi, Hui and Miao Autonomous County. Because local pronunciation of various places is indicated alongside Yi characters in teaching materials, the script is relatively easy to learn. However Yi is endangered in Guizhou, despite a population of over 700,000, because the Yi live intermingled with other nationalities and many younger people do not speak it. Up to the early 1980s literacy was restricted to shamans and a few scholars; those who are less positive about traditional Yi religion may be less than enthusiastic about learning the script.

In Yunnan there is also a tradition of literacy among shamans of some subgroups of the Yi; however the Central and Western Yi have no internal tradition of writing. In fact their speech is very different from that of the other four varieties of Yi, and much more similar to the speech of the Lisu nationality. Of the four Yi literary traditions in Yunnan, one is catered for by the Sichuan Northern Yi syllabary; but the other three are each quite distinct and even have substantial internal differences; each lineage of shamans had their own individual versions of many characters. Because of book-burning during the Cultural Revolution and a transmission breakdown starting more than a century ago but greatly increased since the 1950s when very few young people chose to learn from their shaman father or uncle, there are extremely few young shamans. Nearly all of those under 50 have learned at least partly through the education system, mainly at the Central Institute (now University) of Nationalities in Beijing, or more recently at the Southwest, Yunnan or Guizhou Institutes of Nationalities. Also, most shamans' books, seen as private or even secret, are traditionally cremated after their deaths.

From 1982 to 1985 a committee of twelve Yi representing each of the four literary traditions worked together at the Yunnan Nationalities Language Commission, a part of the Yunnan Nationality Affairs Commission, to devise a unified script for the Yi in Yunnan. Like the similar procedure adopted for the new unified Romansch language in Switzerland, the result is an item-by-item compromise. By 1985 over 1,600 characters had been agreed. A smaller committee of six worked out a further 600 by 1987, and a set of phonetic characters combining an initial consonant and a vowel to represent Chinese loanwords was prepared by 1989.[11]

This **Yunnan Guifan Yiwen** (restored Yunnan Yi orthography) was approved by the government in February 1987, and materials started to appear using hand-written characters; in 1997 a computer font was created. The idea is that a character represents the word with the same meaning but different pronunciation in every variety of Yi in Yunnan, including Central and Western varieties without a tradition of writing and whose languages are more similar to Lisu than to the rest of Yi. From 1987 it was made the standard form of Yi writing to appear on government signs, letterheads, banners and so on throughout the province. However some areas such as Shilin County,[12] where the Sani subvariety of Southeastern Yi is the main kind of Yi, continue to use their own traditional characters for this purpose.

It must be said that this script is quite unpopular with literate Yi intellectuals, including most of those who do language work. It is no one's own, there is no history or prestige associated with it, and even the committee who devised it and the colleague at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities who is the main person teaching it had trouble reading it at first. Nevertheless, in 1996 the Yunnan Nationality Affairs Commission decreed that it should be taught to Yi children in schools throughout the province; they also provided financial incentives to areas which did so, and some did. This decree has since been withdrawn, but not before a number of schools started to teach the script to children, and some continue to do so.

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[10] A Northern Yi village near Lijiang, including its school in session with its Yi teacher teaching Chinese, was shown in the British television documentary 'South of the Clouds'.

[11] A detailed discussion of this process is beyond the scope of this paper; as usual in modern China, it involved provisional materials for each stage being prepared and circulated, then discussed and agreed at a series of conferences with fairly wide invited participation.

[12] Formerly Lunan, renamed Shilin ('stone forest') County in late 1998, after the main tourist attraction in the county.

The first book to appear in this script was a 1987 mimeographed textbook for adult education; this was revised and published in May 1990 (4,000 copies) and reprinted in December (6,000 copies). This textbook has been used at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities in the first year of every Yi class since 1988. It has character-by-character translations into Chinese below each Yi character, and contains a number of short stories in Yi. It also has an explanation of the phonetic characters used to represent Chinese loanwords.

In August 1991 a primary school picture book to teach the script was published (6,000 copies), and in May 1997 a revised version (5,000 copies) in the computer font appeared. This has pictures of the items and activities above the Yunnan Yi and Chinese characters, but no indication of phonetic values. We have seen this primer in use in various schools and in the first year Yi class at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities.

A further series of three primary school language textbooks was published recently: book 1 (August 1993, 1,500 copies, reprinted for the first time in July 1994), book 2 (February 1994, 2,000 copies) and book 3 (October 1994, 2,000 copies). These are now used in grades 1 to 3 of a few schools in the Southern Yi and Eastern Yi areas of central Yunnan, including some schools in Luquan and Eshan counties.

Other publications in this script have started to appear, including some health education and other practical literature. These are much less numerous than those in Sichuan and Guizhou, and appear in pitifully small press runs compared to the overall Yi population of Yunnan.

Surveying Yi Languages in Yunnan

From 1996 to 1998, the authors carried out a survey of Yi languages spoken in two non-urban wards and three counties in Kunming City. These were Xishan Ward to the west of the urban area, Guandu Ward to the east, Fumin County to the northwest, Anning County to the southwest, and Jinning County to the south. In these five county-level units we found 215 Yi villages representing four of the six varieties: mainly Eastern, but also 36 Southern, nine Central and six Northern. Just one county further east the concentration of Southeastern speakers starts.

Kunming is the historical centre of the Yi; the Dian and Cuan kingdoms which ruled the area up to the 9th century AD had Yi rulers, and all four literary traditions of Yi have historical records which trace their migrations back to the Kunming area. Thus Kunming is a particularly important area to survey, even though the vast majority of the population is now Han Chinese. This is mainly the result of migration since the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty took direct control of the area in the mid-13th century, but also doubtless due to assimilation of many descendants of local Yi people into the Han population.

Given such long-standing Chinese rule, it may seem surprising that eight distinct languages, five of them within Eastern Yi, one within Southern Yi, one within Central Yi and one within Northern Yi, are still spoken within less than a hundred kilometres of the provincial capital. Five of these languages are undescribed, of which three are not spoken elsewhere and are endangered to moribund. In this area all eight are disappearing, some more rapidly than others. The trigger for the current decline seems to have been the post-1950 increase in direct contact through administration and education by the new government of China. Indeed there are virtually no monolinguals in the area surveyed; even the oldest people in the most remote villages surveyed could speak and read Chinese.

Subgroup	Language
Eastern	Nasu
	Sanie
	Samataw
	Samei
	Gepo
Southern	Nasu
Central	Miqie
Northern	Nisu

Table 1: Yi Groups in Five Counties around Kunming

Eastern Yi

The Nasu language, known in Chinese as Hei Yi ('Black Yi') and as Nosu in Christian materials, is spoken by a large group mainly found in Luquan and Wuding counties to the north, but also in 41 villages in the northern and western parts of the area surveyed, and spreading as far south as Jinning County where there is one isolated village, Qinglong. It is the medium of a traditional writing system, but this died out completely from the area surveyed in the early 20th century.[13] The language is moribund in about half of these villages and endangered to varying degrees in the others, but is much less endangered elsewhere.

It is fairly well described, especially the variety spoken in Luquan and Wuding counties for which there are dictionaries and many published translations of various inscriptions and traditional books. There is a published grammar of the Nasu speech of Hetaoqing village in Xishan Ward of the area surveyed, Gao (1958).

The Gepo language, also known as Köpu in Christian materials, is widely spoken in Xundian County, Dongchuan City and other areas to the northeast and east of Kunming; in the area surveyed there are six Gepo villages in the extreme northeast of Fumin County. This language is also not endangered everywhere, but in many villages it is moribund. It is virtually completely undescribed, apart from one or two vocabularies in internal Chinese sources.

Sanie, a language whose existence was not previously reported, is the main indigenous language in 70 villages, most in Xishan Ward but also 11 in southwestern Fumin County and 4 in northern Anning County. Its eastern graduates were placed in language-related government work around the province: provincial, prefectural and county nationality affairs, nationality languages, education, information, museum, radio, publishing, culture and other offices, and as local primary teachers. From 1996 students have been expected to find their own jobs, but since many are sponsored by local government, they return to their own area and may find language-related work there. Admission to the Yi class is by interview and examination conducted annually in July, and though in principle all students should already be able to speak their local variety of Yi before they start, quite a few can not.

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[13] One enterprising shaman from northwestern Xishan went to Luquan County in the north of Yunnan to get, learn and bring back books, but no local tradition has survived.

From 1985 to 1987 materials from the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, prepared by Ma Xueliang[17] and his colleagues, were used in this course. In September 1988 the department started to teach the new Yi script to all first year students, using the adult literacy book and later also the picture primer. The first author has given a class on comparative Yi linguistics to each group since 1992, and worked individually with some of the students. In addition, supported by UNESCO funds, a number of the students have collected additional materials on their own home varieties of Yi.

From 1994 to 1996, the Yunnan Nationalities Commission, the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities and the Southwest Institute of Nationalities co-operated to teach this script to a group of over 40 Yi students, mainly government employees working on language and culture in various parts of Yunnan but also one each from Sichuan, Guizhou and Guangxi. We observed some of the classes, worked with some of the participants on their own varieties of Yi, and the first author taught a class on the comparative linguistic techniques used to create the script and its historical basis to this group.

Primary education in and about Yi language is quite limited. We have seen the picture primer in use in Zijun, where children do not speak Yi at all, though their grandparents and some older teachers do. The teaching method is not very modern: a character which appears in the textbook is written on the board, its pronunciation is given by the teacher, and the students chant it back. Teachers and local government are reluctant to disadvantage Yi students in the standard provincial and national exams which determine educational progress. Also, due to lack of materials the amount of time devoted to the study of Yi is limited; mainly just in the first year of primary, though a few areas continue this for three years. Chinese educationalists have borrowed the catchphrases of bilingual education, mainly with a transitional goal of integrating minority students into the Chinese-medium mainstream, but this has not found its way into local primary schools for the Yi in Yunnan, as far as we have seen. At best, a local Yi teacher uses the local variety of Yi to explain Chinese material at the beginning, but otherwise the standard Chinese materials are in use.

In some areas, as a local initiative, the local traditional orthography is taught in primary school. The third author has arranged such classes in his own Nisu (Southern Yi) village in Xinping County, along with classes in traditional music, dance and other aspects of culture. However, in the area surveyed, traditional literacy disappeared among the Nasu by the 1960s or earlier, and the county Nationality Affairs Commissions of Jinning and Anning counties have not been able to find any local books. As we have seen, one Nasu shaman from northwestern Xishan Ward went to Luquan and came back with Nasu books from there; so these are not local. In Guandu Ward, as noted, some Samei books still exist, but since the early 1990s no one can read them. In any case these written varieties are not the same as the new Yunnan Yi writing, and there is little hope of disseminating them given their association with old religious practices that have virtually disappeared from this area.

In Qinghe District of southwestern Fumin County, where there are both Nasu and Sanie villages with some language transmission to children, we were encouraged by the local government and primary school to help with teaching materials, and we prepared and sent a version of the Yi picture primer in the local subvariety of Sanie and standard Chinese. The Chinese is in the **pinyin** romanised transcription. **Pinyin** is useful as the students and teachers speak Yunnan dialect of Chinese with somewhat different pronunciation; all students learn **pinyin** in their Chinese classes anyway, but this is not reinforced by other teaching materials to assist with standard pronunciation for a wider range of lexicon. The Sanie transcription we devised follows the same principles, to maximise transference from learning in the mother tongue to learning the national language. These materials were sent to the local school for use there; we do not know whether they were successful, but hope to return and investigate this in the near future. The intention is to reinforce and give linguistic self-esteem for Yi language, to use first language knowledge to facilitate national language learning, and to improve the standardness of Chinese pronunciation. Similar materials can also be prepared for any other area, but we prefer to wait until there is a local request for them, rather than trying to impose something from outside the community.

Conclusion

A great deal remains to be done. In these areas, Chinese-speaking linguists could readily carry out more extensive work on any of the moribund languages; most urgent is Samataw, but Sanie and Samei will probably soon reach the same stage and have a great deal of internal diversity which make a detailed dialect study highly desirable. Gepo and Miqie are languages with substantial speaker populations elsewhere in Yunnan, and these languages are also virtually undescribed. Eastern Nasu, Southern Nasu/Nisu/Niesu, and Northern Nisu/Adur and related Northern varieties in Sichuan all still require more dialect survey work and grammatical description.

In preliminary surveys of some other areas, we have continued to locate similar numbers of other unreported and undescribed endangered languages. Projecting from work so far, just within the Yi nationality, one might expect to find at least 50 more languages within Yunnan alone; considering that there are many other composite nationalities and many other provinces with substantial minority populations, endangered language work in China is very urgent and needs to be done on a large scale. Many of the endangered languages are more or less closely related, and also related to the languages which are replacing them; thus the sociolinguistic and historical linguistic situation of contact, multilingualism and change is also particularly fascinating.

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[17] The authors express their deep regret at the passing of Prof Ma Xueliang, the leading scholar of Yi language studies in China, in early 1999.

The prognosis for the survival of moribund languages like Samataw is very poor, even with external assistance; but other communities in the area may still be encouraged to keep their languages. Perhaps our basic challenge is to raise the self-esteem of minority groups through work with them on their languages, and see whether they then decide to keep them alive. They of course need to make their own decisions about the importance of language maintenance; but if we do not do the descriptive work now, their grandchildren may reproach them, and us, the members of a discipline which is presiding over the demise of most of the objects of our study!

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Finding a Policy

TO SET TONGUES WAGGING AGAIN: ENDANGERED LANGUAGES OF THE HIDATSA, MANDAN AND ARIKARA

Alesia Maltz
Antioch New England Graduate School
[amaltz@antiochne.edu]
and
Dean P. Fox
Independent Scholar
[deanfox54@hotmail.com]

Abstract

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nations (The Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota, USA) are threatened with the loss of their languages. Less than one hundred fluent speakers are left in all three languages. Threats to language and culture emerged from the process of geographical displacement and subsequent policies to promote acculturation, in conjunction with changing educational practices and a changing relationship with nature. Nature has been altered so much that it has altered language itself. As Wittgenstein has shown, language is intimately connected to a form of life. For the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara people, language is expressed, nurtured and elicits meaning only in the context of livelihood, ceremony, ritual and prayer. Everyone used to speak the language fluently when they knew their place in society and nature. The people have been forced to adopt modern technologies in which traditional language is at best out of place. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages need to be cherished and woven into the fabric of lived experience. New vehicles for public language education, like media, are needed to set tongues wagging. Language is alive when culture is alive, when stories about Trickster, or First Creator, can guide action in the world.

Language is Medicine

> Trickster regularly creates lively talk where there has been silence or where speech has been prohibited. Trickster speaks freshly when language has been blocked, gone dead, or lost its charm.... Language goes dead because culture practice has hedged it in, and some shameless double dealer is needed to get outside the rules and set tongues wagging again (Hyde, 1998).

Language is story and stories are the medicine to get tongues wagging. To lose language is to lose story, ritual and prayer. We all suffer when we can no longer listen a story into our lives or invite stories to inform our actions. Current amnesia about the interpretation and meaning of stories is one primary symptom of this loss. As media continually replaces more traditional forms of storytelling, people lose the internal rudder and compass that guide action in the world.

Stories come as gifts. "What you are regarding as a gift is a problem for you to solve" (Wittgenstein, 1980). Stories are participatory and celebratory. "Stories map the geography of the human soul" (Cajete, 1997). They maintain our spiritual ecology. They nurture the depths of the soul and remedy social ills. Stories develop long-term relationships with people. The story and the listeners weave each other, become each other. The old stories, says Barry Lopez, (1990) take care of people and are taken care of by them:

> "I would ask you to remember only this one thing," said Badger. "The stories people tell have a way of taking care of them. If stories come to you, care for them. And learn to give them away where they are needed. Sometimes a person needs a story more than food to stay alive. That is why we put these stories in each other's memory. This is how people care for themselves."

Stories engage us with the world and show us how to act in the world. They provide guidance and suggest a range of new and unexpected responses. They intimate levels of understanding just below immediate view and extend peripheral vision. Stories allow the imagination to engage and solve problems that seem insurmountable. They promote thick descriptions, honor local knowledge and engage us in the act of re-membering, or putting ourselves back together (Geertz, 1983). The symbolic imagery evoked by story provides a picture of the world and the individual's place in it.

In many Native American traditions, everything has a story, a ritual and a song. Story is the narrative counterpart of ritual. Paula Gunn Allen (1986) says:

> One function of the storytelling part of the oral tradition is to give people a basis of entry into the more obscure ritual tradition. Entry into the narrative tradition enables individuals to realize that the significance of their own lives stems in large part from their interlocking connections with the lives of all the others who share a particular psycho-spiritual tradition.

Tragic stories of policy between the 500+ indigenous nations of America and the United States government are ongoing. The majority of the younger generation do not know their own story. The only hope to maintain the traditions of a people who are individually in denial and collectively unaware is "to keep tongues wagging." Stories are constantly being remade for each individual soul and for each generation. When you read and listen to indigenous stories, you may feel the condition of the peoples' souls. Many people have died before they could tell their stories and many more do not want them to be written down. Untold stories are still in the wing waiting to be told. Some Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people feel that the umbilical cord of the oral storytelling tradition became severed and secured when the stories entered into written form. Social pressures have quashed the oral traditions, even among tribal members. Losing language means losing story, as well as the personal touch, taste, sound, sight and smell of the storytelling. Chambers (1995) comments:

> Language calls out for a voice, a body. Such a summons propels us beyond the limited refrain of instrumental speech and writing into song, dance and dream.... (T)he world stubbornly resists closure. The alchemy of language is so powerful. It is through this rift, this opening, that our bodies, our gestures and our language are constantly renewed: drawn on by the desire or the promise of the impossible.

It is time for indigenous nations to give storytellers permission to retell our stories. It is time for storytellers to take the initiative, to retell our stories with responsibility and integrity. If the traditional stories are to have any impact, the people must respond inventively to them.

Sacred stories are the road maps of the spiritual traditions. Stories inform sacred rites, rites become rituals, and rituals become prayers. Stories give the breath of life through song and ritual. Earth cycles of ancient origin guide the use of story and language. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara stories teach the people how to live in a more sacred way and explain how the people can be strengthened by tradition. Interpretations of traditional stories suggest and underscore qualities unique to each of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara traditions. A century of restrictive policy toward rituals created a great struggle to keep traditions alive and responsive to a changing society. Following passage of the Freedom of Religion Act for Native People in 1978, many indigenous people struggled to rekindle their rituals. For example, in 1983, the Mandan people reintroduced the *Okipa* ceremony and later the Hidatsa and Arikara reintroduced the Sundance.

Despite the reinvigoration of these rituals, the languages of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people are still facing extinction. As Wittgenstein (1983) has shown, language is intimately connected with a form of life. Language is expressed, nurtured and elicits meaning in the context of livelihood, ceremony, ritual and prayer. For example, in the process of building a home, there were prayers for the use of earth, wood and willows. All living beings had a ritual and prayer. Language was made full by such self-sufficient acts as maintaining communication with plants and animals. Language is alive when culture is alive, and needs to be cherished and woven into the fabric of lived experience in order to flourish. Ian Barbour (1997) says, "Stories create communities and communities create stories, in an ongoing fashion."

When language is not integrated into the daily practice of craft, food raising, prayer and other social activities, the circles of indigenous language grow smaller and more precious. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages are spoken only on rare occasions. The languages are infrequently uttered in the daily routines of business, travel, eating, and socializing. Many fluent speakers struggle and disagree on the use or definition of terms. This further restricts the spoken word. The only times fluent speakers are encouraged to speak the language are during social gatherings, ceremony, ritual and prayer. Non-fluent speakers have become mute through their respectful participation in public prayers. People who speak fluently are held in reverence, like the white buffalo calf, because of their courage against opposition.

Our storytellers know that each person is sitting in or near the space of fluency that contains his or her own potential. Stories told by our own storytellers fill the capacity of the soul. The stories have the capacity to ask each person who listens to find that aware space inside, that space at the center of soul condition, and invent a new way of speaking. The stories can ease and incite the souls of indigenous people to fluency.

The Restoration Ecology of Language

Federal and state Indian policies have contributed to the current condition of language loss for the Three Affiliated Tribes. For that condition to change, a cultural and natural environment must be established that will nourish and restore story, ritual, prayer and song. As with the restoration of an endangered species, the restoration of endangered language requires the concurrent restoration of a linguistic habitat that lets language flourish. The restoration ecology of these prairie languages require four distinct elements: a viable population, a place, a natural/spiritual connection and a system of local education.

Language Needs A Viable Population

In this process of restoration, there is no going back to an ideal past, an authentic state before the moment of colonization. Chambers (1995) claims:

> The impossible mission that seeks to preserve the singularity of a culture must paradoxically negate its fundamental element: its historical dynamic. Post-colonialism is perhaps the sign of an increasing awareness that it is not feasible to subtract a culture, a history, a language, an identity from the wider transforming currents of an increasingly metropolitan world. It is impossible "to go home" again. This means to find oneself subject to ever wider and more complex webs of cultural negotiation and interaction.

We can never go home again because the restoration of an ideal past is impossible. Yet the modern highway obscures multiple hidden pathways of cultural continuity. These pathways constitute the essence of local indigenous knowledge. An indigenous heritage, however broken, provides the birthright to wander out and back on your own road seeking the company of the ancestor helpers. These ancestors can awaken responses and expectations about inversions, troubles, incurabilities, sickness, dangers and neglect. They can guide us in seeking a cure for the condition of our collective souls.

The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes suffer from a cultural soul sickness. We hold our beauty and terror, our present and ancient condition, our sickness and its cure. If any resolution is to occur, the people need to create rituals for accepting our soul condition, to speak about the grief, losses, suffering and healing. There is a back road to language and cultural practices. Walking the ancestor's road requires the courage and capacity to go to the depths of self. Only then can we bring forward what has been lost or neglected by our generation and past generations who have suffered ethic cleansing.

However incurable this illness of language loss may appear, there is no time like the present to celebrate the potential for a great healing. This illness requires healing. Hyde (1998) draws attention to the Greek idea of *kairos*, or sacred time. *Kairos* is "the brief instant when a weaver may shoot her shuttle through the rising and falling warp threads." The sacred *kairos* instant allows for "a penetrating opening in the weaving of cloth, the weaving of time, the weaving of fate." The fate of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages hangs by a thread. The people are propelling themselves toward a silenced heritage.

The precursor to the illness of language loss was the illness of smallpox. The earliest recorded germ warfare against the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nations started in 1782 and peaked in 1837. Smallpox was disseminated in blankets and other "gifts" in exchange for trade items. Before the epidemic, the population of the three nations numbered approximately 33,000. The Mandan population, which was most severely hit by the smallpox epidemic, dropped in 1837 to approximately 300. Now the three nations encompass 11,000 members, but less than 100 of them speak any of the three distinct languages fluently. The restoration of language will require raising the population of fluent speakers. It will also require raising the comfort and enjoyment levels of the non-fluent speakers, and helping them see how their grasp of the language, however imperfect, is not a detriment to the language, but a contribution that broadens the pool of language users.

With less than one hundred fluent speakers still living, soon there no longer will be an opportunity to restore the three languages. Hyde (1998) alerts and encourages us to act "...against the nets of reciprocity, the grid of ethics, the weave of fate...(in order to) find which is a lucky break, a hole in the surrounding cloth. This lucky find is an opportunity, then, a pore or penetrable opening in an otherwise closed design." The lucky break provides the *kairos* moment when language restoration becomes possible again. We the people have to become a story of restoration that has not been told and needs to be told in our own words, in our own language, in *kairos* time.

Language Needs A Place

Following the 1804 Lewis and Clark expedition, a series of Treaties, Executive acts and the Allotment Act with the United States government increasingly restricted the land base of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nations. The individual and collective consequences of these land "reforms" on culture and language were considerable. Culture is imbedded in the land. Land reforms constrained access to the sacred geographical sites of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people. These sites housed the sacred stories as well as the spirit guides who protected people living within those locales. The US federal government paid Christian religions to break spiritual beliefs with the land by restricting spiritual practices, rituals, rites and ceremonies (Prucha, 1979). The Last Arrow Ceremony, an extension of the Allotment Act, extracted a promise to reduce all cultural rites, practices and ceremonies and to disrupt family, clan and tribal structures. It ritually fooled or tricked people into adopting individual ownership of allotted land (Hoxie, 1984).

The most devastating land reform to the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara cultures and languages since World War II has been the building of the Garrison Dam, the fifth largest dam in the United States. Garrison drowned culture and language by dispersing people from the rich and sacred bottomlands of the Missouri River valley to the inhospitable open coyote prairie lands above. The flooding of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara cultures in 1954 significantly affected language use by further displacing and dispersing people, families, extended families, societies and clans. Garrison tore the social fabric that bound people to place (Maltz and Fox, 1999).

The most severe long-term social impact of Garrison Dam on culture has proven to be the loss of economic self-sufficiency. No longer able to maintain a self-sufficient livelihood, people have been forced by federal policy to adapt to a modern consumeristic life in which the traditional languages are at best out of place. The change to a wage society started with the puppet governments and tribal councils established by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 in response to multi-national corporate interest in consuming the natural resources on Indian lands (Mander, 1992). Among the Three Affiliated Tribes, consumerism intensified following the flooding of the Missouri River bottom and the subsequent assimilation of the people into the American Dream. For the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people, that dream is a nightmare about displacement.

Language Needs Nature

Nature has been altered so much that it has altered language itself. McLuhan and Powers (1992) say:

> True nature, as we should understand it, is acoustic. Acoustic space has no center. It consists of boundless random resonations. It is the kind of orientation we have when we are swimming or riding a bicycle...multi-sensuous, full of kinetic spaces.

McLuhan and Powers believe that "acoustic imagination dwelt in the realm of ebb and flow, the *logos*." For example, sound has the same individualistic qualities as light. Sound waves move neither outside nor inside; they are passing through. Sound gives the listener his or her bearings in space and in relation to things.

Everyone spoke their indigenous languages fluently when they knew their place in society and nature. Language loss is symptomatic of a loss of social orientation in conjunction with the detachment of our nature-oriented psyche from the natural world. This disconnection from nature affects words, grammar and meaning as well as the pitches, vocables, rhythm, intonations, inflections and volume -- in short, the poetry of the language. Vocables and pitch are as essential to language as words and meaning. Indigenous languages play the important part of placing the people geographically by expressing the vocables and pitches. The tones of Indian languages go beyond the chromatic scale. The poetry of language is required to restore personal, cultural, modern and origin stories. We want the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people to hear and enjoy a genuine story told by a genuine storyteller in their own language.

Speaking a universal English language is unsound spiritual geography. Speaking English keeps the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people disconnected from nature. What works in England does not necessarily work in North Dakota. Many languages and dialects are not now spoken or understood -- including the languages of water, land, wind, fire, earth, plants, animals and rocks -- because the indigenous languages that complement them are not spoken or understood.

We authorize others to come speak our story for us, forgetting that outside biases, as well as the poetic sounds of an outside language, do not resonate with place. They do not reverberate between the place and the space in the soul where the listener can become the story. When a language is spoken in its native geographical locale, it creates the true resonation between human language and nature.

The oral traditions of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people suggest that indigenous languages have sacred power in connection with nature. In the past, there have been supernatural entities, like a Mandan Jesus Christ, who took on a life form and taught the people how to survive. The last one was Lone Man of the Mandan people. Lone Man taught the Mandan how to live with nature and create sacred bundles. As liaison for the main ceremony of the *Okipa*, Lone Man taught the people how to respect the cycles of land, plants, animals, air and water.

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara oral traditions hold that ancestors have their own language and they talk to the people through dreams or through actual human language. Those with whom the spirits move and speak have differences of opinion about how fluent the spirits are in English. Some say that the spirits only speak their indigenous languages, some say they speak multiple indigenous languages of this geographical locale, and some say they speak English. Some spirits sing their speech, which suggests that certain spirits prefer to communicate through song and dance. These spirits are unique to this part of the world. The people communicate back to them through the same songs and dances that make up the rituals. Language coalesces ritual and ceremony. McLuhan and Powers (1992) say:

> Objects in this world resonated with each other... (For) the Indian, ...the world was multi-centered and reverberating. It was gyroscopic. Life was like being inside a sphere, 360 degrees without margins; swimming underwater; or balancing on a bicycle. Tribal life was, and still is, conducted like a three-dimensional chess game; not with pyramidal priorities. The order of ancient or prehistoric time was circular, not progressive.

Language sets the codes for culture, its activities and its moral values. In the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara cultures, myth guides action, suggests direction and clarifies outcomes. In the ancient Greek tradition, Hermes, the messenger between the gods and humans, was also the inventor of language (Hyde, 1998). Likewise, in the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara cultures, language is the messenger between human beings and other beings. The oral tradition suggests that storytellers have the ability to vocalize with all relationships, including relationships with plants, animals and rocks. Vocables create a perfect pitch that resonates throughout the earth and the universe. Initially the plants and rocks gave language to the people. Through language, human beings are intrinsically related to all other beings, in harmony with the universe and beyond.

Language Needs Local Education

The traditional educational system of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara was intergenerational, with elders passing on knowledge to youth through daily routines of communication. These routines have been disrupted by mandatory school attendance. Christian boarding schools did considerable damage to what was left of language use and cultural practices by punishing any youth who spoke their indigenous language or did not follow the boarding school practices. More recent attempts to introduce bilingual language education have not been successful in the schools of the Three Affiliated Tribes for many reasons, including an educational environment taken indoors and restricted by the confines of academia.

In the schools, language is taught as rote vocabulary. Some of the tribal members who speak the language are not qualified academically and are thereby not permitted to teach in any of the schools. State and federal accreditation procedures discourage indigenous education and restrict bilingual programs through financial and other policy means. Working parents tend to discount indigenous language education in the home because consumer etiquette reinforces the English use.

Dean's grandmother spoke Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and English. His father spoke Hidatsa, Crow, Lakota and English, but only spoke English to the children. His mother spoke Mandan, Hidatsa and English. She only spoke English to the children, but talked Hidatsa to her husband and Mandan to her maternal relatives. The only time she spoke Hidatsa to the children was when they were being disciplined or scolded. Being scolded is not the most conducive way to learn a language. Like most of the people of her generation, Dean's mother did not want any of her children to speak Indian languages because, when she attended Catholic boarding school, she was severely punished for speaking her native tongue. We believe she wanted the best for the children, even if it meant losing language, cultural practices and identity. Elders now tend to speak their native language only to other elders. They do not want to hinder a child's ability to learn English, believing it will be better for them to speak the English language than to be tied to a declining language and culture.

People on the reservation who still suffer the effects of boarding schools maintain ambivalence about some formal education. Over the last several hundred years, Europeans and Euro-Americans have divided up entire cultures into zones of study. Indigenous bones have been studied, along with travel routes, life styles, houses, places, ideology, spirituality and speech. All aspects of the cultures have been pressured and compartmentalized. To take language or any other aspect of culture and set it off as something to be studied is to take the life out of experience and relegate it to a dead archive. For language to be alive among the people, it must be woven into the fabric of everyday life, celebrated through story, sound, ritual and prayer. For this reason, placing language under academic scrutiny is neither respectful nor productive.

We believe that more informal and creative approaches to education are required to set tongues wagging again. The language education we envision must be fully integrated with education of place and nature as well as story, ritual and prayer. Restoration of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages demands a more locally based public education, one that reaches adults as well as children and draws upon the oral tradition. To restore the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages, we turned to media as a vehicle to set tongues wagging again. Circumstances and history call for locally-based language education. This education should invite the participation of both fluent and non-fluent speakers and incorporate place and nature into language. The restoration of language is trickster's invitation to come in for a visit on the social psyche.

Trickster Elevates Mass Media

Anyone belonging to indigenous America knows who trickster is. Trickster can be savior, hero, God, man and animal all at once. The most distinguishing characteristic of trickster is his unmistakable unconsciousness. Trickster, who is better known to Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara as "First Creator" or "Old Man Coyote" is a metaphor used to characterize behaviors, morals, values and experiences. First Creator provides the story that brings awareness to conduct in any given situation. Telling First Creator stories fulfills a cultural duty to our way of life and performs a service for posterity. However, we are no longer telling First Creator stories. Hyde, (1998) says:

> Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself.... He knows neither good nor evil, yet he is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social,... yet through his actions all values come into being.

What would motivate a group of people to speak their indigenous language again? Trickster! His careless, anarchistic energy suggests unlimited possibilities. He can imitate serious ceremonial events with an inverted humor that transcends cultural boundaries. He remakes the world anew through ceremony, story and language. In modern cultural, trickster language has been replaced by newer divinities who are subordinate and oblivious to the older trickster language. We believe that one pathway to cultural survival is the power of an inverted trickster language. Hyde (1998) comments:

> When human culture turns against human beings themselves, the trickster appears as a kind of savior. When we have forgotten that we participate in the shaping of this world and become enslaved to shapings left us by the dead, then a cunning artus-worker may appear, sometimes erasing the old boundaries so fully that only no-way remains and creation must start as if from scratch, and sometimes just loosening up the old divisions, greasing the joints so they may shift in respect to one another, or opening them so commerce will spring up where "the rules" forbid it. In short, when the shape of culture itself becomes a trap, the spirit of the trickster will lead us into deep shape-shifting.

Coyote myths suggest that it is easy to lie and trick with language, but also that language is the primary pathway to teaching. As the circle of our language use becomes increasingly more restricted to prayer and ritual, it becomes ever more difficult to express ourselves. Trickster made language and made the world through language (Hyde, 1998). Coyote, the teacher and creator of societies, created language and can re-create language if he is in a recreational mood. Trickster can jump-start the reclamation of our civilization through language. Trickster, that shameless double-dealer can get outside the rules and set tongues wagging again.

We need to rely on First Creator's humor and wit so as not to get trapped in the trauma of genocide and ethnic cleansing. As First Creator, Old Man Coyote can create new language and point to a new resilience of cultural language.

Influences of Mass Media

Some of the most acute pressures on Indian people have come from media. The mass media environment has replaced cultural stories and community awareness. From a cultural geographical standpoint, the people have been flooded and displaced from the fertile bottomlands that nourished community awareness. Living up on the open prairie, the people became exposed to the extreme elements of the environment as well as state and federal ever-changing laws, mass media and mass technology. These social circumstances invited Coyote, the double-dealing, double-voiced character of individualism.

Indigenous languages cannot move at the velocity of mainstream society. Television, radio and other technologies that travel and communicate at the speed of light have become the newer, larger community. Native people find it is hard to incorporate the mass media psyche into a tribal perspective. This fact makes us an inverted community within a larger community. Hyde (1998) says:

> Regularly we hear of tricksters being involved in the origins of linguistic multiplicity.... It is a traveler's story, a story of finding the one true language, the lost original, the unbroken amphora, but of being forced to mediate between incommensurate situations ceaselessly arising.

Media has contributed to the collective soul sickness of the people by distracting us from the stories that need to be told. Instead of celebrating indigenous language as an integral part of our form of life, we have been stunned into silence. The people have developed a strange, perhaps incurable, soul sickness. Knowing that our desire for full cultural and language practices is impossible to achieve won't change anything. Self-medication has not helped. Improved self-esteem has not helped.

Before people can admit to the incurable condition of collective soul sickness, we will have to describe, diagnose, prescribe and recast the collective soul sickness many times. We have not created a place, space, or time to identify our soul sickness. We have not been able to describe or recast any of our collective or personal soul sicknesses. Through the trickery of entertainment, media distracts us from curing our soul sickness.

Media has also contributed to the collective soul sickness by telling its own version of "the Indian story." To create images that sell, media enshrines indigenous people in a cultural vacuum. Media generates expectations, often of conflict, about "the generic Indian." Many books and movies have been written showing, even taunting, the social conditions of Indian people. Like history, literature reflects the interests of the people who benefit the most from it. Naming the condition of Indian people in documentaries has become very profitable for non-Indians. This generation reads about the ancestors from non-Indian authors with their own biases and ignorance. Some Indian people would prefer to listen to other people telling their own stories.

Mass Media as Trickster

Media is Trickster's tool. Native people are vulnerable to mass media's power to promote highly individualistic social standards and insatiable greed. The answer to the trickery of mass media is to recognize it and flow out of it, to become as spontaneous as the watery waves and vibrations of sound, to transform, to reverse and contrast the immediate situation through fluidity.

Indigenous nations, living without cultural stories and languages, starving on wages, ingesting mass media standards, may find that cultural stories may be just the thing needed to nurture and cure the people. The tribal radio station, KMHA, is potentially the forum for nurturing the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages and perhaps even lead to a cure for rampant individualism.

Media can be viewed as the doctor who needs patients in order to stay in practice. Dr. Media believes that consumerism is the remedy and cure for any social sickness. Being aware of the social ills can bring clarity if people are aware of their own behaviors and social illnesses. Dr. Media causes the peoples' illness, but he also knows the cure. It is a homeopathic remedy whose deadly poison can cure like venom against a rattlesnake bite. This medicine can bring up the internal reserves and invert poison into life, or invert the ridicule that stings non-fluent speakers into the joy of speaking your own language.

Trickster can invert language of non-fluent speakers into fluency, or at least find ways to include rather than exclude the non-fluent. He can turn mispronunciations into humor, play and theatrics, and can entice people to learn their language from experience. As different as the endless mockery of the mockingbird is from the joyous spontaneous song of the bluebird, people enjoying their language can open up new language through verbal spills of humor and play. The acoustic language song of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara, when spoken with joy and laughter, is a strong medicine for collective soul sickness.

> The imagination is most creative in acoustic space. Acoustic space has the basic character of a sphere whose focus or "center" is simultaneously everywhere and whose margin is nowhere. (McLuhan and Powers, 1992)

In acoustic space, holistic oral language becomes the home of song. Like the Chi Kung teacher, who says "the body is singing and I'm just singing with it," we say "Mother Earth is singing and we are singing with her."

Conclusion

Radio can bring awareness on a collective scale. We are proposing to start a KMHA radio show that gets First Creator on the radio. Listeners will be wagging their tongues.

First Creator can invigorate the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara languages by speaking spontaneous responses through humorous pronunciation and translation. Unlike the smallpox epidemic that took the fluent speakers away, this show will spread contagious laughter, bringing cultural wealth to the people through an aural education that invites the participation of fluent and non-fluent speakers alike.

But those tongues, instead of being "bi-lingual," will become "double voiced," speaking the inverted language of Coyote. Inviting Coyote runs the risk of another illness, that of sanctioning double-dealing. But this risk may be worth it, because First Creator's antics can make the mute laugh, can resurrect a dead language back to life, can recover the charm of language, can reopen the threshold boundary that hedges people into culture loss and can encourage speech that had been prohibited to flow freely.

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Educating In English To Maintain Pennsylvania German: The Old Order Parochial School In The Service Of Cultural Survival

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner
St. Lawrence University
Canton, New York

> *Mir selle die Welt sproch net brauche schunst grickt die Welt uns un no de deifel.*
> Missouri Preacher John Kaufman[1]

> *English . . . represents everything outside our homes and our community*
> Old Order Amish Bishop Joseph Stoll,
> in the Old Order Amish teachers'
> journal *Blackboard Bulletin*,
> (1969: 208).

Abstract

This paper explores the way in which North American Old Order Amish groups use English language education in community parochial schools to preserve a way of life in which Pennsylvania German is the language of the group and oral English the language of the outsider. Efficient, relatively inexpensive, and community-based, Old Order parochial schools reflect and shape Old order values, thereby reinforcing the maintenance of Pennsylvania German in the home and in the community.

Introduction

Although separate for historical and religious reasons rather than biological or regional ones, the Pennsylvania German-speaking Old Order Amish, like many minority groups, are trying to maintain an unwritten, unstandardized language in the face of pressure from a dominant, standardized one. Ironically, the parochial school, taught in English, plays a key role in the maintenance of Pennsylvania German. Indeed, many in Old Order communities argue that the English-language parochial school is as important as the home in preparing children for Old Order life and in maintaining Pennsylvania German and the other markers of Old Order identity. In this paper, I explore the way in which Old Order schools prepare children to engage in necessary economic interaction with the dominant society and, at the same time, help to reinforce the cultural values, behavioral norms, and religious beliefs that will keep the community separate and its language alive. The success of Old Order schools has, I believe, important implications for the development of school-based language preservation programs in minority language communities.

The Old Order Amish and Pennsylvania German

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[1] "We shouldn't use the world's language because the world will get us and then the devil." Quoted in a note to Deacon Amos Hoover from Bishop Ben Hostettler, Amish-Mennonite Church, July 30, 1978

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Today's Old Order Amish, descendents of the Anabaptists, a radical faction of the Reformation, continue to be, as Redekop (1989) puts it, "a people with a self-conscious awareness of its past, present, and future...continuously informed by ... a religiously based conflict with the secular environment...." As a result of the ongoing attempt to define the church and its place in the world, there is considerable variation among today's Old Order Amish church communities. Nevertheless, these groups share a lifestyle in which they eschew modern dress, limit the use of electricity, automobiles, and telephones, and rely on a dialect of German, called variously "Pennsylvania German" (PG) or "Pennsylvania Dutch," for face-to-face intra-community interaction.

Pennsylvania German is neither written nor standardized and varies considerably from community to community. Indeed, members of one community sometimes find it difficult to understand the dialect spoken by members of another (Johnson-Weiner 1989). Nevertheless, the use of Pennsylvania German remains one of the most salient markers of Old Order identity (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1992, 1998). Indeed, Keim (1975) asserts that Pennsylvania German is "the single most effective element in the continuity of the Amish community." In resisting the shift to English, Old Order groups have faced pressure from the surrounding, English-speaking majority to assimilate, as well as economic pressure to change and even hostility towards German speakers (cf. Adams 1993, Lapp 1991). In maintaining Pennsylvania German in the face of pressure to shift to English, the Amish demonstrate a commitment to living as a "separate and peculiar people" (Johnson-Weiner 1992, 1993, 1998).

Nevertheless, since the use of Pennsylvania German is restricted to oral interaction within Old Order communities, an Amish person who knew only Pennsylvania German could play little role in the economic exchange with the dominant, English-speaking society on which the community depends.[2] Thus, like other minority language groups, the Old Order Amish find it necessary to educate their children in the dominant language, English. At the same time, however, the Old Order Amish must limit its influence. English is, as one Old Order Amishman has written, the language associated "with the business world, society and worldliness . . . the forces that have become dangerous because they make inroads into our churches and lure people from the faith" (Stoll 1969, 208). For the spiritual survival of the Amish community, the Old Orders must maintain the use of Pennsylvania German (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1992, 1998).

Pennsylvania German and the Old Order Parochial Schools

As they have been since the 19th century, Old Order Amish children are taught in English. The majority begin first grade as monolingual Pennsylvania German speakers and, after eight years, they leave school fluent in both oral and written English. Although the Old Order Amish have found the parochial school a means of introducing Amish children to English and, at the same time, controlling its use, the Old Order school evolved not as an innovation within the Amish community, but as a reaction to organizational changes in the school systems of the majority culture (cf. Enninger 1999). Until recently, in fact, most Amish children attended local one-room schools, which, although public, allowed parents a measure of control over the classroom.[3] Only when the post-WW II movement towards consolidating and centralizing schools in rural areas threatened to remove Amish children from the watchful eye of the community did the majority of Old Order communities begin to establish their own schools. It was, in Enninger's words, "a means of tightening the boundaries" (1999, 222). As one Amishman put it, "How can we parents expect our children to grow up untainted by the world, if we voluntarily send them into a worldly environment, where they associate with worldly companions, and are taught by men and women not of our faith six hours a day, five days a week, for the greater part of the year?" (Stoll 1975, 28).

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[2] For church, the Old Order Amish use High Pennsylvania German or *Hochdeutsch*, and they distinguish both Pennsylvania German and High Pennsylvania German from "Bible German." As is discussed in this essay, English is used in school, for all written communication, and for all communication involving outsiders or "the English" (see Hostetler, 1993; Huffines, 1980; Johnson-Weiner, 1989, 1998; Louden, 1992).

[3] The first Amish or Mennonite private school was the Apple Grove Mennonite Private School, later called Apple Grove Amish Parochial in Dover, Delaware, which opened in 1925.

Bringing education under the control of parents and church leaders, Old Order communities have established one- and two-room schools that keep children close to home and separated from non-Old Order peers. Teachers are drawn from the community and are usually young, unmarried women chosen because they did well in school. They have only the eight years of formal education that the Old Order consider sufficient, and they receive little or no special preparation before they begin teaching. Old Order communities keep schools free of the physical trappings of the modern world, including electricity and telephones. In addition, they limit their children's introduction to "worldly fashions" in dress, literature, and technology. Children are taught only the basics: reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and social studies. All instruction, even the half hour a week lesson in "Church German" given to the older pupils, is in English (Johnson-Weiner 1993).

Hostetler and Redekop (1962) note that "while the school experience is a normal part of life, it remains part of the domain of the outside world" (198). Like the English language in which it is conducted, the school is an outside institution that plays a necessary role within the community. Amish schools must meet the demands of the state while furthering the often-opposing interests of the church community (cf. Enninger 1999, esp. 223). It is in the school, taught by a member of the community and watched over by a school board chosen from the community that Amish children are introduced to the non-Amish, sinful world outside their community (Hostetler 1983, 254). Symbolic of this introduction to the outside world is that children entering school are addressed in English by the teacher, who is, in most cases, a neighbor they know well, or even a sibling who has never before spoken English to them. The Amish limit the effects of English school by keeping the boundaries between the school and the community intact. In the schools of more conservative Amish sects, for example, English ceases to be spoken when lessons end and school is no longer in session, even if the break is just for recess. Parents expect their children to learn English so, as a schoolteacher put it, "[the children] know what they're reading and [can converse when] they meet someone [who doesn't speak Pennsylvania German]." Yet, children learn that English has its place. One mother noted that, although she would not mind if her children used some English around the house and with other children and family members, she would not want them to use it too much. "Sometimes," she said, "they do it [speak English] just for fun, but, if they do it regularly, we make them quit" (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1993, esp. fn9). As the anonymous author of a 1986 article in the Old Order Amish journal *Family Life* put it, "Useful as the English is to us, we have to keep English speaking in its proper place. That place is not in our homes nor in our church services."

The English texts used in Old Order schools further reinforce the separation between the Old Order Amish and the world. More conservative groups make use of archaic texts like the *McGuffy Readers* (first published in the 19th century), which are kept in print by Old Order publishing houses. These texts offer basic language instruction while providing a vocabulary no longer in everyday use and portraying an English world that no longer exists. Other OOA communities rely on texts developed by the OOA Pathway Publishing Company, which use English to tell of an OOA world and to reinforce OOA values (Johnson-Weiner 1996).

Old Order schools further contribute to the maintenance of Pennsylvania German by continuously reinforcing the Old Order belief in tradition and separation from the world that mandates the use of Pennsylvania German within the Old Order community. Schools maintain practices established in rural one-room schoolhouses, and there is little pedagogical innovation (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1996; Enninger 1999). Not only do children use the same textbooks as did older siblings, parents, and grandparents (in some cases, literally), but they do the same lessons in schools built to the same design. Amish education reinforces the continuity of the present with the past, a realization of the Amish belief that God's truth is unchanging. This link to the past means that even the newest schoolhouse is a comfortable and familiar setting. Parents feel free to visit the school and often come with pre-school age children in tow, which further reinforces community ties and provides a check on educational practices.

In the classroom itself, children work towards clearly defined goals. Because English is the language of education rather than an obstacle that must be overcome so that children can get on with their education, the teacher expects that students will learn both oral and written English. There is no formal language instruction. Rather, children are exposed, from the beginning, to language that is relevant to their immediate needs and interests. Although first graders are addressed in simple and repetitive language, they hear exchanges of varying degrees of fluency, yet focusing on familiar topics, as the teacher instructs the other grades. Thus, the learning situation is more natural than formal, and children are able to put what they learn to immediate use. The teacher expects that some students will have a harder time with English than others do, just as some will have a harder time with arithmetic. Grades are, ultimately, of little importance. Children are expected to do their best and are chided only if they do not.

The Amish believe that one's abilities are God-given and, therefore, no individual is praised for learning something easily or scolded for having a difficult time (cf. Hostetler & Huntington 1971, 57). There is no class curve, nor is individual work set out for special praise. The school reinforces the emphasis placed by the Old Order community on the learning of discipline and community values, and on the ability to work with others for the good of the community. Pupils are expected to encourage one another in order that the whole school may do well, and those who stand out for their intellectual or athletic abilities learn that these are gifts from God and are, thus, to be used for the benefit of all and not for personal aggrandizement (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1993). Prominently displayed in one school is the motto, "Those who want to be heard, speak up. Those who want to be seen, stand up. Those who want to be appreciated, shut up." The teacher told me that her predecessor had put up the motto, but that she agreed with it and so had left it up.

Keim (1975, 14) notes that "The Amish view education as a way to encourage the child to follow instructions, respect authority, and master basic information. They are skeptical of education which stresses engagement, critical thinking, or asking questions. They favor rote learning. The community can survive only if authority and tradition are respected and upheld." As Huntington (1994) puts it, "the Amish do not confuse schooling with the larger concept of what the world calls education. Although during most periods in their history they have permitted their children to be schooled by 'outsiders,' they have never permitted their children to be educated by the world" (78). The distinction is an important one. Schooling is book learning, which is not highly valued in Old Order society. Education, on the other hand, is the inculcation of values. For the Amish, the true education upon which the church-community depends for its survival takes place in the sharing of labor, the doing of chores, and the enjoyment of fellowship at church, around the dinner table, and in even in silo filling. The Amish will not abdicate parental responsibility for the moral upbringing of their children, either to educational specialists or to the state. Menno Simons, one of the most influential of the early Anabaptist leaders, argued that parents were morally responsible for their children and admonished parents to watch over the souls of their children "as long as they are under your care, lest you lose also your own salvation on their account" (1956: 390).

In short, the Old Order Amish, do not send their children to school so that they can prepare for a well-paying job or become good citizens. The Amish hope instead that school will supplement the efforts of parents and the larger church-community to prepare the child "to live for others, to use his talents in service to God and man, to live an upright and obedient life, and to prepare for the life to come" (Stoll 1975, 31; cf. Hostetler 1993; Hostetler & Huntington 1971). In the parochial schools, the Amish can, as an editorial in the *Blackboard Bulletin* put it, "have the privilege of teaching the regular branches, and at the same time . . . interweave the doctrine of God, Christ, and the Church in all . . . studies, even in arithmetic.[4] Thus, Amish parents can ensure that what is taught in the classroom reinforces what is taught in the home and church-community.

Lessons from Old Order Schools

Practically speaking, Old Order schools provide a model for ways in which schools in minority language communities can minimize the impact of majority language education. They demonstrate, for example, that school-based language maintenance initiatives can be carried out quite economically and without government intervention. The Old Order Amish receive no outside funding to support their parochial system. Schools are built and supported by the community, maintained through community efforts, and staffed by a member of the community. Moreover, Old Order schools are successful. Often Amish children know little or no English when they enter school, but after eight years of education they will perform as well as their non-Amish counterparts in rural public schools on tests of spelling, word usage, and arithmetic (cf. Hostetler 1969; Hostetler & Huntington 1971; Huffines 1980). More importantly, graduates of Old Order parochial schools are able to engage successfully in the business transactions with their non-Amish neighbors that are necessary to the survival of the community.

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[4] Anonymous, 1959. Cf. Johnson-Weiner 1993.

At the same time, the parochial schools reinforce the role of Pennsylvania German as the language of the community. By clearly delineating domains for each language, the schools mark community boundaries. By emphasizing the values of the church-community, schools help to ensure that the ideology that mandates the use of Pennsylvania German as a marker of Amish identity is passed on to the next generation.

It is this last, I suggest, that is most fundamental to any discussion of the role of schools in language maintenance. Old Order schools "work" because they put Amish belief into practice. Children are educated in English to meet a specific community goal, namely the perpetuation of the values of the Amish community and the protection of Amish children from the values of the dominant society. Central to this goal is separation from mainstream society. Thus, Amish children do not learn English to learn more about the English speaking society that surround and dominates them; in the eyes of the community, the less they know of that the better. They must, however, deal with the dominant society for the good of the community. When these restrictions are clear, and English is learned and used accordingly, education is successful, Pennsylvania German is maintained, and the community survives. In other words, although conducted in English, the Old Order parochial school' contributes to the survival of Pennsylvania German because the system of education used by the Amish conforms to and reinforces a worldview in which the survival of Pennsylvania German is necessary.

Some might argue that, because they choose to remain separate from the dominant society for religious reasons, the Old Order Amish are different from other minority language groups and, thus, have little to teach us about language maintenance. Yet the desire to remain distinctive underlies all efforts at language retention. In fact, broadly speaking, the goal of Amish education is the same as that espoused by other minority language groups--to educate their children in the dominant language so that they can interact with the dominant society and succeed economically, but, at the same time, preserve community values, language, and culture.

As does other research (e.g. Woolard 1985; Urban 1991; Gal 1992, 1993; Kroskrity 1992; Kulick 1992), study of Old Order parochial schools suggests that a key factor in a successful language maintenance program is not just a desire to keep the language but an ideology that accords the language a central role in group (or community) identity. Perhaps, then, a first step in developing a language maintenance program is to help the minority language community evaluate the role of language in community identity, life and culture (cf. Fishman 1989, esp. ch. 12). Language attitudes need not be shaped by the dominant group, as Dorian (1998) implies.[5] Indeed, the pattern of language maintenance and shift in Old Order Amish and related Anabaptist groups in North America challenges the assertion of Grenoble and Whaley (1998, 38) that factors external to the group *invariably* [emphasis mine] provide the motivation for the change in attitude that results in language shift (Johnson-Weiner 1998). As Keesing (1992, 2, cf. Fasold, 1984, 214) asserts, even marginal groups may be "active agents in shaping and controlling their engagement with the outside world, giving local meaning to alien ideas, institutions and things . . . "

Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) argue the need to begin any program of language and cultural preservation with an open and honest assessment of the group's feelings about using and preserving the language. As they point out, "While it is generally politically and emotionally correct to proclaim resoundingly, 'Yes!,' [when asked whether to preserve the language]. . . . the answer may really be, 'No.'" (1998, 63). Ultimately, if a minority language is to survive, it must, in some way, meet the needs--religious, social, or cultural--of the group. As Fishman (1989, 399) argues, language exists in a "cultural matrix". To preserve language, it is necessary to support its position in that matrix, to foster an ideology of language (cf. Woolard 1992; Kroskrity 1993; Dorian 1998) that makes the minority language an integral part of community life. Then, to the extent that schools realize this community ideology, they will be a powerful force in language maintenance efforts.

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[5] Dorian (1998, 3) argues that "languages have the standing that their speakers have," which presumes that the dominant society plays a paramount role in shaping minority group identity and language attitudes. Cf. Kulick (1992, 17), who argues that "the conceptions that people have about language, children, the self and the place of these in those people's interpretation of their social world are central to an understanding of why they come to abandon their language."

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Mayan Language Revitalization in Guatemala

R. McKenna Brown
Virginia Commonwealth University
P.O. Box 842021, Richmond, VA 23284-2021 USA
[mbrown@atlas.vcu.edu]

Abstract

Drop in at almost any corner store in a Mayan town, strike up a conversation about the changing times, and a spirited discussion is likely to ensue. Most everyone has something to say about how life among the Mayas of Guatemala is changing at an unprecedented rate. Farming, markets, customs, young people--nothing seems impervious to outside influences, including the weather. So it is not surprising that the increasing shift to Spanish language use and the subsequent decline of the Maya languages have not been lost on the Mayas. It is widely recognized that the younger generation speaks less Maya than the preceding one: they are increasingly oriented toward the cultures and languages surrounding the Mayas and are every day less fluent in the ways and speech of their elders.

One response to this cultural and linguistic threat has been a growing Mayan nationalist or pan-Maya movement whose central pillar is promotion of the Mayan languages. This paper briefly describes the historical context of the movement and then discusses two specific aspects: domestic language use and Mayan language literacy. Efforts in all these areas seek to deter and reverse the loss of language and culture and gain for them a broader, more formal, legitimized institutional role in Guatemalan national life.

Introduction

Beginning with the Spanish invasion, successive governments of Guatemala have attempted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and success, to dislodge the cultural barriers hindering full access to and manipulation of the Mayan population. One tactic of choice has been education, and the infusion of the Spanish language has often been the first objective. Thus for many Mayan activists the national education system embodies the perceived threat to survival from the state and dominant culture, and is often cited as a principal villain in language-loss scenarios. However, Mayan efforts to regain control over their linguistic and cultural destiny have found some of their greatest success in the area of education. This article explores the complex relation between education and linguistic survival among the highland Maya of Guatemala, with particular on one of the largest language groups, the Kaqchikel. Specific attention will be given to the areas of Mayan language use in the home and literacy in Mayan languages.

Of course, the accelerating assimilation of the Mayas into the national Ladino society is fueled by a complex host of demographic, political and economic factors described and analyzed in some detail in recent years, giving rise to lively discussion on the exact nature of cultural identity and its genesis (see, for example Cojtí Cuxil, 1997; Fischer & Brown, 1996; Warren, 1998; Zapeta, 1999). For the present, we offer a brief historical overview of Mayan education in highland Guatemala.

Brief History

As noted by Richards and Richards (1996), "Legislation enacted under colonial and republican regimes since the Spanish invasion of Guatemala has cast Maya peoples and their languages as detrimental to national progress." A constant goal of the Spanish Crown was to mold its recently conquered subjects of the New World into proper imperial subjects. The Crown wished to forge a direct bond between Indian and court through a common language—its own. However, royal aspirations for a Spanish-speaking Indian population did not meet with ready support in the New World. Limited manpower and the dispersed settlement of the Indians made for logistical frustrations. Moreover, the Creole role as middleman in the regulation of Indian labor and tribute was justified and enhanced by the presence of language barriers. Catholic missionaries, seeking above all native conversion, found the indigenous languages the most expedient medium for their purposes.

Crown policy aimed at "castillianizing" the Indians varied a great deal. Many royal edicts coincided with the missions' interests in Indian languages; otherwise, the use of a single imperial language was promoted. In 1550, King Carlos V established the teaching of Spanish to the Indians a priority for the missionary orders. Logistical difficulties were considerable, however, leading to further decrees reflecting awareness of local realities: local administrators were to establish Spanish classes without causing inconvenience or expense to the Indians and only for those Indians who voluntarily requested them (AGCA AI.23 1514, 1605:68).

A change in policy is evident during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when a series of imperial rulings command missionaries to know the Indian languages of their regions and frequently inquire as to their progress. For example, the crown wanted to know why a friar named Diego de Canave had been at his post in Trujillo for three years and still had not learned the local language (AGCA A1.23 1515, 1620:75). Within half a century royal strategy again favored Spanish instruction of Indians. King Charles II ordered immediate compliance with all Spanish promotion laws for all Church and Crown officials in 1686. Subsequent edicts called for schools to be established in "todas las ciudades, villas, pueblos, y lugares donde vivieren aborigenes" (AGCA A1.23.1523, 1691:36) to teach the Indians the Castilian tongue.

During the eighteenth century the Bourbon reforms loosened the traditional alliance of landholders, Crown and Church to make room for emerging merchant and entrepreneurial classes. Education reforms called for universal education, and the establishment of rural schools eventually became part of the modern political agenda. Independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century brought the Liberals to power whose strategy for progress relied on foreign capital earned through commodity exports, such as coffee, which required an abundant supply of cheap labor. Under President Rufino Barrios, legislation was enacted to liberate the Maya from the confines of their communal lives, increasing their contact with the "civilizing" influence of the Ladino population. In general, efforts to stimulate export production were detrimental to Mayan communities. Ladinos were encouraged to settle in Indian towns, often monopolizing new commercial activities. Communal lands were usurped and sold at low cost to commercial planters. Forced labor, vagrancy laws, and debt peonage were used to induce the Indians to provide labor on the plantations (Woodward 1985), resulting in the seasonal migrations to the Pacific coast that continue to the present day and have been so movingly described by Menchú (Burgos 1992) and González (1995).

The ensuing years have witnessed growing assaults on the Indian community that formed during the colonial period and served as a bastion of Mayan culture and language. The introduction of vaccines and antibiotics through national health programs provoked a population growth, escalating demand for a dwindling land supply. Growing numbers of Mayas are obliged to seek their livelihood outside their natal community in a Spanish-speaking world. The introduction of regular bus transportation, mass media and public schools has brought the outside world to the Mayan community, and with it, increased need for the Spanish language. Whether the resulting expansion of bilingualism will threaten the survival of the Mayan languages remains to be seen.

Education and Mayan Language Vitality

The specific interaction of the factors involved in language shift—patterns of competencies, attitudes and practices—and the effect of school attendance on them, is more complex than commonly supposed. While the imposition of an educational system foreign and often hostile in terms of its design, content and delivery clearly threatens the vitality of Mayan culture (UNICEF, 1994), those Mayas who succeed in the system are most likely to become activists. As Fishman (1988), among others, has noted, it is often the educated who most successfully resist unwanted intrusion and build confidence in their own traditions. Mayan control of the formal education offered in their communities has only begun recently with the establishment of *escuelas mayas* (Richards and Richards, 1996).

In my own research in the Kaqchikel Mayan community of San Antonio Aguas Calientes, over five hundred households were surveyed about intergenerational language use. Contrary to expectations, the segment reporting a language shift from Kaqchikel use with the preceding generation to Spanish use with the succeeding generation was among the least educated and the most educated segment were those reporting stable intergenerational bilingualism (Brown 1996). Thus, increased exposure to the national educational system does not necessarily lead to Mayan language loss.

Domestic Language Use

Although statistical data on the issue is scant, the fact that the younger generation speaks less Maya than the preceding one is widely recognized among the Mayas. To reverse this trend, parents must speak regularly to their children in Mayan while at the same time preparing them for their future linguistic needs, which will surely include Spanish. Many Mayan parents recall their own traumatic experiences arriving at school with no command of Spanish, and the abuse they suffered from teachers who did not respect their language or culture. They do not wish for their children to repeat this experience. Despite the practice of speaking Spanish in the home, many Maya parents still recognize the value of Mayan languages, and do not claim to be intentionally precipitating their demise. Parents may not speak Mayan at home for a combination of many reasons: parents may not be aware that language is only acquired easily during childhood, and that if their children don't learn the Mayan language at home it will be much more difficult for them as adults. Other attitudes and beliefs affecting Maya parents' language use with their offspring include the following:

- Imperfect language output, including mixing languages, is pathological in children
- Stable, balanced bilingualism is not possible
- Mayan fluency will worsen school performance
- Mayan languages have low prestige, due in part to the presence of Spanish loan words

Parents readily accept the value of intergenerational continuity for the Mayan languages. What is needed is a practical guide to raising bilingual offspring. Parents need to be assured that bilingualism is indeed feasible, and they need specific suggestions on how to distribute the two languages among communicative settings within the home. Specifically, they need strategies to teach their children Spanish in a Mayan-speaking household. Until recently, larger issues, such as the recently signed Peace Accords, have preempted language planning at this micro level.

Literacy in Mayan Languages

Literacy in Guatemala is intimately tied to historical, economic, political, and ethnic circumstances. Illiteracy rates, some of the highest in the Americas, reflect the profound marginalization of much of the population. Although the majority speaks a Mayan language as a mother tongue, most national literacy campaigns have promoted literacy in Spanish. In fact, almost all Mayas literate in a Mayan language have prior, and in most cases, greater, literacy in Spanish. Since programs in Mayan language literacy involve the standardization of orthographies and the production of educational materials, their net effect empowers the Mayan population.

The current movement for Mayan revitalization or nationalism has roots in efforts to promote literacy in Mayan languages. In fact, many of its leaders began their training and organizational experience in the study of Mayan linguistics. Today, many Maya speak of a personal process of *concientización*, which occurred as they learned more about their language, culture, and history. They came to appreciate the worth of Mayan culture and chose to dedicate themselves to its promotion.

During the mid 1980s, after the worst of the violence, an undetermined number of small literacy groups formed in several Mayan communities. In the Kaqchikel Mayan town of San Juan Comalapa, about thirty-five adults, mostly under forty years of age, voluntarily attended night classes once a week for about two months. In 1986, I visited one of the literacy classes, and I have since remained in contact with the organizers and several students. In 1995, I spoke with several of them at length about the literacy classes, and present their recollections here. Although very small in scale, the group represents a radically distinct form of literacy training in Mayan communities, one of local initiative and control.

Four commonly cited functions of the educational process are socialization, acculturation, vocational training, and the formation of intellectuals. Of course, two months of weekly literacy classes constitutes only a small part of an educational process. Nonetheless, each function merits a brief discussion of its relation to acquiring literacy in a Mayan language.

1. Literacy Training and Socialization. One way to appreciate how Mayan language literacy training imparts values is to contrast it with the national educational program, which is often described as colonial in terms of content and effect. Values imparted by Mayan language literacy classes include an increased respect for the language itself, and for the elders of the community, whose stock of knowledge is implicitly or explicitly denigrated in the public school classroom. Referring to the literacy class, one student commented, "It enabled me to value my language."

2. Literacy Training and Acculturation. Education not only transforms students, it often leaves them separated or alienated from their roots. In this way, national education has served to defuse many of the brightest potential Maya activists. In contrast, literacy training in a Mayan language can have the opposite impact. As Street (1987) points out, identification and internalization act as mechanisms in the socialization process of literacy. As adults become literate in a Mayan language, they identify with and internalize the values associated with Mayan culture, and they then serve as models for their children to emulate. When individuals become literate, they enroll in a literate community and help shape its customs. As one student remarked, "I felt it was the most important step in my process of cultural vindication. I had suffered a terrible alienation."

3. Literacy Training and Vocational Training. Literacy training will only succeed if that literacy will fulfill some useful function for the individual (Downing 1987). The literacy classes started as a response to a need for teachers in the national bilingual education program. At that time, many Maya youths had pursued professional degrees in elementary education at Normal Schools but found teaching posts elusive. About twenty-five of the thirty-five students were trained as teachers, and the rest attended out of personal interest. Once they became literate in Kaqchikel, about twenty of the educators were hired as bilingual teachers. As one participant says:

> At the same time, it gave me a source of work...I think that was the complement that consolidated literacy in my life. If they had taught me literacy just as a mechanical act, I probably wouldn't have developed the whole process.

Two of the organizers themselves had been recruited in 1984 to receive literacy training in Kaqchikel to prepare them for as specific job. As one reports,

> I was looking for work, and they sought me out because I was a teacher, and they wanted me to give Kaqchikel classes to Ladino students from the capital who were going to do some fieldwork in Comalapa.

Employment opportunities are crucial to success in Mayan language literacy. As one former student says, "If there's no application, it has no meaning. To the degree that the need grows, so will the literate population grow."

4. Literacy Training as a Stimulus to Intellectual Growth. Mayan language literacy occurs within the context of threats to the languages and cultures from outside pressures. It is usually the most "contacted" Mayas, those with links to Ladino society through education, work, and urban residence, who are the most literate.

A fundamental change brought about by the literacy classes was in the students' language use. In Comalapa, as elsewhere, an educated Maya is expected to speak Spanish among peers. However, the literacy students developed a different norm for language use among themselves. As a former student reports, "After classes, we would leave, all of us speaking in Kaqchikel. And to this day, we still greet each other in Kaqchikel." The students underwent a shift not only in behavior, but also in attitude. An organizer remembers clearly the students' "...change to speaking the language with no shame. For many it was tough to speak Kaqchikel in a meeting of professionals, even if they spoke it at home."

Another effect was a desire by the students for appropriate reading material in the language—material which didn't exist. In response, several of the participants began interviewing community elders and succeeded in collecting fifty recipes for natural medicines in Kaqchikel. As one participant says, "The urge to rescue was born."

Literacy training in Spanish is an enormous social investment, producing jobs for Spanish speakers. For Mayas, who are often illiterate in Spanish, lack of training serves to maintain the unequal power relationship between Maya and Ladino. Currently, literacy in a Mayan language is a requirement for certain government jobs, yet the government seems to resist awarding the jobs to Mayas. One example comes from the Ministry of Education, which, due to accords with the United States Agency for International Development, agreed to hire five thousand bilingual teachers. Only 1,200 have been hired, and there are reported cases in which these posts were given to monolinguals in Spanish.

Conclusions

Education constitutes one of the most crucial paths towards formalizing a language and legitimizing its role in a society. In Guatemala we find a conflict between the government's interest in national unity and the Mayas' desire for cultural dignity and integrity. A key point of dispute is the effect that national education should have upon the Mayan psyche. Many critics in Guatemalamaintain that the national education program is little more than *etnocidio*, aimed at killing or weakening the culture of Indian students. Yet, the obvious economic benefit of schooling is very attractive to Mayan parents who want a better life for their children. Growing numbers of Mayas are acquiring the tools of Western education in order to defend and promote their history and way of life. Chief among their concerns is the future health of their languages, which they seek to promote in almost every facet of Guatemalan national life. The Kaqchikels, perhaps in part due to their central location and access to Western resources, play a predominant role in this movement. The future survival of the Maya as we know them today may depend upon their success.

Notes

Parts of this paper appear in fuller treatments of Mayan language revitalization issues by the author, principally *Mayan Cultural Activism* (1996) and *the Life of Our Language: Kaqchikel Maya Maintenance, Shift and Revitalization* (1998), both published by University of Texas Press.

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Abstract

The Use of the Saami Language in Norwegian Schools

Jon Todal
Saami College, Norway
[jotod@online.no]

Saami is a Finno-Ugric tongue spoken in Northern Scandinavia and NorthWest Russia. There are no reliable statistics on the number of Saami speakers. The number 20 000 is often mentioned. The traditional area of the Saami people is divided among four states, Russia, Finland Sweden and Norway. Most of the Saamis live in Norway. From the mid-1800's the Norwegian government developed a policy of Norwegianization towards the Saami, a policy, which lasted up until the 1960's. The use of only Norwegian in the public schools was seen as a tool to reach this goal. The other states have also attempted to assimilate the saami people. Since the latter part of the 1960's, Norway has permitted the use of Saami in the schools. 1 January 1992 Saami became an official language in Norway in addition to the two written forms of Norwegian.

Saami in Norwegian schools

Today it is possible to choose between three different streams in the primary and secondary schools of Norway.

1) You can have Saami as your first language and as your language of instruction in the subjects, and Norwegian as a subject (second language).

2) You can have Norwegian as your first language and as your language of instruction in the subjects, and Saami as a subject (second language).

3) You can have Norwegian as your first language and no Saami at all (but in three municipalities in Finnmark county is it compulsory to have two languages, a first and a second language).

In all these three streams English is a compulsory subject as a foreign language.

A policy of bilingualism

The aim of Stream 1 and Stream 2 is bilingualism. In both these streams bilingualism is seen as having value in its own right. Bilingualism is not considered as a transitional stage from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another. There is no way back to a monolingual Saami society, but it is not preferable that the Norwegian language dominate in the Saami communities.

Experience of Saami as a second language

The stream where Saami is taught as the first language has been a success in many ways and the pupils reach the aim of functional bilingualism. But the stream of Saami as a second language (Stream 2) has not succeeded in the same way. The pupils do not become functionally bilingual. The school authorities are not satisfied with the achievements in the subject, and the parents are dissatisfied with their children's communicative competence in Saami. 90 per cent of the pupils who take Saami as their second language come from Norwegian-speaking Saami families who have lost their old language. It means that the school today is not succeeding as a tool to reverse language shift.

Research

Very little research has been done on the Saami language situation. One of the challenges of the future is to find out what kind of role the school can play to strengthen the language outside the core areas.

Abstract

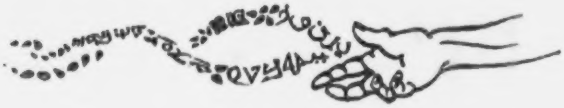
Policy and Irish in Northern Ireland Education

Eoghan McKendry
Graduate School of Education
QUB, Belfast BT7 1HL
(+44/0) 1232 335948 (Direct)
[e.mckendry@qub.ac.uk]

Modern languages policies in Northern Ireland reflect many of the agendas and implementation patterns familiar in Great Britain. There are, however, significant differences which merit consideration. For example, the retention of Selection at 11+; the attitudes to languages in the different sectors - Controlled (Protestant), Maintained (Catholic) and the recently emerged Integrated sectors; government policy with regard to the Irish language and the emergence of the Irish-medium sector. Since Partition in 1921, Irish in Northern Ireland was treated with scorn and hostility, although no overtly punitive policy was adopted. Official policy and practice has striven to marginalise Irish. As the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry said in 1928 about policy, "we should avoid carefully any impression that we desire to encourage the teaching of the language". The original proposals for Education Reform in 1988 sidelined Irish in English-medium schools to the extent that it would have disappeared from Secondary schools. After strong lobbying, a compromise was reached. Despite these difficulties, Irish has retained a relatively strong presence within the maintained sector. Indeed, when one considers the policy of 'Diversification in Modern Languages' which Central Government in London and the Department of Education for Northern Ireland have been promoting, Irish is one of the very few successes in the United Kingdom. The task of the Irish language lobby is to recognise those aspects of policy where it can claim success, such as diversification and the European Union's policy towards linguistic richness and diversity, rather than succumbing to the negative policy goals of a previous political enmity, or to simplistic views emerging from unsophisticated utilitarianism. The current Nuffield Enquiry on Languages in the United Kingdom provides an opportunity to reappraise the role and position of Irish in Northern Ireland.

Other important features in Northern Ireland include the emergence of Irish-medium education, which has its own policy agenda and implications, and the Good Friday Agreement which has placed the Irish language firmly within the political agenda.

The final question, however, is what can the Irish language become in Northern Ireland if the Republic continues with policies of rhetoric rather than implementation?



3

Looking at the Learners

The Breton Language in Education in Brittany: the Passive and Active Expression of Attitudes.

Dr Rachel Hoare
Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland
rmhoare@tcd.ie

Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between educational provision for *teaching* the Breton language and the attitudes of young people in Brittany towards *learning* the language. An exploration of the current provision for the teaching of Breton in both the public and private education systems and the network of Breton language (Diwan) schools, is followed by an investigation into attitudes of young people in Brittany (aged 8–18) towards the Breton language in general, and more specifically towards learning Breton and the teaching of Breton in schools in Brittany. This draws on data collected in two phases, from a total of 800 informants, which was analysed quantitatively and qualitatively.

(1) A Historical Overview of the Position of Breton.

Breton was first introduced into Armorica (i.e. Brittany) in the 4th century by immigrants from the British Isles. It is now spoken in the area known as *Basse-Bretagne* (*Breizh Izel* in Breton, Lower Brittany), which comprises all of the Finistère *département* and the western halves of the Côtes-d'Armor and Morbihan *départements* (see Map 1). The areas of *Basse Bretagne* and *Haute Bretagne* have never had any administrative status, but the division represents the linguistic dichotomy (Humphreys, 1992: 621), and *Basse Bretagne* now generally designates the traditionally Breton-speaking part of Brittany. According to McDonald (1989), in most parts of *Haute Bretagne* Breton has been little spoken, if ever at all. This division is confirmed by a number of sources including Falc'hun (1963), Fleuriot (1980) and (1982), and Abalain (1989).

(2) The Regional Languages in Education in France

Since *La Loi Deixonne* (1951) and subsequent implementation measures, breton language and culture may be taught for between 1 and 3 hours a week in the state education system if there is a teacher who is willing and able to do it. Although considered to be vitally important by supporters of the regional languages, *La Loi Deixonne* was at the same time a fairly modest measure, behind which lay the understanding that these languages no longer threatened French. In practice, the proposals of the law were frequently not implemented, often due to administrative inertia or indifference, and from all the regions concerned came accounts of difficulties created in teaching regional languages by unsuitable timetabling: students were understandably reluctant to accept extra hours of classes after a full day in school. In addition, *La Loi Deixonne* was rather vague regarding the question of how these new classes should be financed, meaning that in effect many teachers taught for a nominal salary or for no salary at all. Under the provisions of *La Loi Deixonne* several conditions had to be met for a regional language to be taught: (1) a minimum number of students was required, (2) parents and teachers had to agree to such teaching, and (3) only *local* languages could be used (i.e. Breton could only be taught in Brittany, Basque only in the *Pays Basque*, etc.). If just one of these prerequisites was missing, then the regional language in question could not be taught. Barbier (1989), in an exposé on the history of Breton, referred to the law as a *'loi-alibi...une pseudo-reconnaissance de nos langues de France'*.

In 1975, a law which was largely concerned with education, the *loi Haby*, reinforced the teaching of regional languages in schools with its statement in Article 12 that *'Un enseignement des langues et cultures régionales peut être dispensé tout au long de la scolarité* (Loi n° 75-620 du 11 juillet 1975 relative à l' éducation). Some very minor additions to the Deixonne provisions were accepted, including, for primary pupils, a mandatory three hours per year devoted to the comparison of French and the regional language, ten hours of history and the study of ten regional civilisation texts. Ministry representatives were openly hostile 'to the principle of teaching the regional languages', referring to the necessity of not overloading the programmes, the shortage of resources and personnel, etc. (Giacomo, 1975: 24).

One organisation which deserves special attention in the framework of education is *Diwan* (meaning 'seed') which functions as a network of Breton language schools comparable to the *Ikastola* in the Basque country (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993). The network started in 1977 providing education at preprimary and primary levels, and in 1988 also at secondary level. The *Diwan* schools have experienced a steady increase of pupils: some 17% in 1996/97. In addition to Diwan schools, there are some public and Catholic schools which have implemented their own bilingual education schemes promoted privately by the organisations *Div Yezh* and *Dihun*[1]. Table 1 gives some figures on the learning of Breton in both *Diwan* and non-*Diwan* schools (*Académie de Rennes*, 1998).

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[1] These are parents' organisations which support the creation of bilingual streams in both public and Catholic education and form lobbies to convince local authorities or school boards to set up bilingual streams.

	pre-primary	primary	collège (<16)	lycée (16-18)	total
Diwan	752	674	268	56	1753
Public	581	512	149	41	1283
Catholic	488	421	65	1	975
Total	**1821**	**1607**	**482**	**101**	**4011**

Table 1. Division of bilingual students by school types and levels in Brittany (1997/8)

The figures show an overall increase of 18% in the number of students being taught completely or partly through Breton between 1996 and 1997. The educational practice of *Diwan* schools is based on the pedagogical principle of immersion education which in practice means that young children are first educated through the medium of Breton with the gradual introduction of French, which becomes a teaching vehicle at secondary level. The teaching philosophy of *Diwan* is laid down in its charter (*Diwan*, 1998).

Diwan signed a contract with the State in 1994 which gave their schools the status of private schools under agreement (according to the Debré Law) which means that the State pays the salaries of primary school teachers but not of support staff members such as administrative personnel (*Diwan*, personal communication). Whenever *Diwan* wishes to create new schools, the State will only start supporting them from the fifth year of their existence, which makes their creation very difficult. It is the aim of *Diwan* to become part of the public education system.

The progress of the teaching of Breton remains very fragile and demands for more structured funding are still not being met by the education authorities. The parents organisation *Div Yezh* is working towards a goal of 10,000 pupils in the year 2000. Based upon surveys on attitudes towards Breton in Finistère (TMO, 1991), it is feasible that in 2000 some 1.6% of the pupils in Brittany will be schooled in bilingual public schools. The most important issue which needs to be resolved is the lack of competent teachers, especially those in secondary education. Another problem to be solved consists of the lack of continuity in schooling. Only in very few places are pupils given the opportunity to continue their entire schooling in one town.

(3) The Structure of the Research.

The research reported on in this paper used questionnaires (470 informants) and interviews (62 informants) to gain different kinds of insights into the passive and active expression of attitudes towards the Breton language in general, and more specifically towards learning Breton. The research was carried out in two of the four *départements* of Brittany: Finistère in western Brittany and Ille-et-Vilaine in the east. Finistère is predominantly rural and traditionally Breton-speaking, whereas Ille-et-Vilaine is more urban and traditionally non-Breton-speaking[2]. In Phase 1, questionnaires were sent to those schools in these two *départements* which had agreed to participate in the study, along with instructions specifying the age groups to whom the questionnaires should be administered. In Phase 2, a further set of informants were interviewed individually and were asked essentially the same questions that had figured in the written questionnaire.

(4) Results and discussion

The questionnaire revealed that the majority of respondents had no understanding of Breton (55%), and never spoke (65%), read (72%), or wrote (78%) the language. However, a substantial minority (45%) claimed that they understood Breton to a certain extent, though this fell to 35% for those claiming to speak the language. This result is as one would expect: other studies of languages or dialects in decline have shown that levels of active use tend to fall earlier than comprehension (Hadjadj, 1983).

Having examined the general patterns of language use amongst the informants, and the underlying trends, the next logical step was to have a closer look at the more overt attitudes of the informants vis à vis learning Breton. The next stage therefore took the form of an examination of responses concerned with the desire of the informants to improve their competence in Breton in any or all of the four skills of understanding, speaking, reading and writing. The subsequent correlation of responses with their views on the future of the language was designed to reveal the extent to which the informants were prepared to back up their expression of support for its survival with personal concrete action. Table 2 indicates that of those informants who do not understand or use Breton, only a small proportion would be *very interested* in being able to do so, with percentages ranging from 16% for the understanding of Breton, to 12% for being able to read or write Breton. The table shows that, as was the case with the reporting of the existing skills of the informants in Breton, there was also a descending degree of interest in acquiring competence in these skills according to the oral/written and passive/active distinctions: the attitude towards acquiring receptive listening skills was the most favourable, and that towards acquiring active written competence was the least positive.

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[2] For a detailed presentation of Breton geolinguistics see Humphreys (1991).

Si non[3], aimeriez-vous: (number of informants)	comp	parler	lire	écrire
cela m'intéresserait beaucoup	16	13	12	12
cela m'intéresserait assez	27	27	24	24
cela ne m'intéresserait guère	27	25	28	29
cela ne m'intéresserait pas du tout	30	35	36	35
Total	100	100	100	100

(all figures shown are percentages)

Table 2. The desire for improvement in Breton language skills.

As language attitudes play a vital role in language use and choice, they are not only inherent in the reactions of the informants to the possibility of learning Breton, but are also elicited systematically in the second section of the questionnaire where the informants are presented with a series of statements and asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree. The statements address four main issues: young people's perceptions of Breton speakers, the learning and teaching of Breton, the relationship between language and identity, and the future of Breton.

No.	Statements	Percentage responses to statements				
		1	2	3	4	5
6	Pour être un(e) vrai Breton(ne) il est nécessaire de parler breton.	23	20	8	22	27
7	On est toujours un(e) vrai Breton(ne) si on parle français avec un accent breton sans pour autant parler breton.	32	29	17	8	14
8	On est toujours un(e) vrai Breton(ne) si on utilise quelques mots ou quelques expressions bretonnes, sans pour autant parler la langue.	25	29	16	17	13
9	Le breton est une langue réservée aux personnes âgées.	9	8	8	13	62
10	Il est important que les enfants apprennent à parler français et breton.	14	16	23	20	27
11	L'enseignement du breton devrait être obligatoire dans tous les établissements scolaires de Bretagne.	10	13	15	21	41
12	Il est plus utile d'apprendre l'anglais ou l'allemand que le breton.	49	19	15	6	11
13	Il est important de conserver la langue bretonne.	55	19	15	4	7

Table 3. Attitudes, identity and the future of Breton.

The most striking findings in Table 3 are the responses given to statements 9, 11, 12 and 13 where relatively large numbers of respondents opt for one particular response in each case. The responses to statement (9) reveal that 75% of informants (62% choosing E, and 13% choosing D) do not think that Breton is specifically an old people's language. And although statement 13 shows that the majority of informants (74%) agree on the importance of preserving Breton, 62% of informants felt the teaching of Breton should not be obligatory in schools in Brittany. More than two thirds of informants (68%) think that it is more useful to learn a modern foreign language such as English or German, than Breton. These results clearly demonstrate the contradiction which exists among the attitudes of the informants in respect of Breton. Although most informants are keen to see the language survive, most are unwilling to contribute to this survival process by learning the language themselves, and are therefore, perhaps unwittingly, precipitating its decline.

In order to further explore the apparent contradiction between theory and practice, the relationship between the responses to each of the statements was examined using a correlation matrix to identify possible relationships between the reactions to each statement. The most striking result was the high number of correlations between the responses to statements 10, 11, 12 and 13, later reinforced by the identification of two factors using factor analysis, the first of which loaded highly on these statements, and was labelled 'future of the language'. This combines educational items with more general issues of language learning, and direct questioning on the future of the language. Correlations were also found between statements 7 and 8 which, along with statements 6 and 9, were later found to form factor 2: 'Breton identity', where the items were all concerned with the relationship between language and identity, and with perceptions of Breton speakers.

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[3] (si vous ne comprenez pas le breton)

The correlation of attitudes towards improving one's ability in Breton and Factor 1 (Future of the language) is very high, and is also very highly statistically significant ($p<0.001$), indicating that there is a strong relationship between the attitudes of the informants towards improving their skills in Breton, and the future of the language.

Whereas work on language attitudes has traditionally involved *quantitative* data, obtained from research instruments such as questionnaires, the second stage of this study consists of a *qualitative* assessment of attitudes and perceptions of identity through the analysis of discursive data. Quantitative research is typically associated with the incidence and frequency of variables, whereas it is the concepts and categories which are all-important in qualitative research. To shed light on the responses given in the questionnaires, 62 young informants from Basse Bretagne were interviewed. A flexible and non-directive approach was taken within the overall structure of these interviews, so that although each informant was asked the same questions, the nature and development of the responses elicited from each one differed according to the relevance of the question to the experience of the particular informant. The responses to each question were coded and analysed thematically and we shall concentrate on the responses concerned with the learning and teaching of Breton.

Very few informants reported any depth of competence in Breton, with typical responses across the age range and gender division to the question *'tu connais le breton?'* being: *'quelques mots', 'pas tellement', 'un peu'*. The small number of informants (approximately 10%) who claimed (tentatively) to have some knowledge of the language were all at least fifteen years of age, a likely reflection of the optional learning of Breton at school beginning to have an impact. All positive responses to the questions are qualified, suggesting that none of the informants are very confident about their ability to use the language, as illustrated in the response of a 17 year old male who has been learning Breton since he was a small child: *'je connais un peu le breton, ben j'en fais depuis très longtemps, je commençais en maternelle, et on racontait des histoires en breton à l'école déjà et puis bon je continue à apprendre, c'est assez dur quoi'*

The results of the questionnaire where only a very small minority of informants claim to be able to understand and speak Breton well, are also reflected in the interview responses. The interview data provides a more meaningful context for the discussion of the quantitative results, and is instrumental in uncovering the dimensions used by the informants to evaluate their own competencies. The relationship between the self-evaluations and the amount of time spent learning the language suggests that some informants are tending to under-report their ability: *'un peu'* is used to describe competence in Breton by (a) an informant who says of learning Breton *'je viens juste de commencer'* (b) an informant who claims *'je l'étudie depuis deux ans'* and (c) the 17 year old male cited previously who has been learning the language since nursery school. This variable interpretation of *'un peu'*, which happened to be one of the possible response categories in the questionnaire, was addressed by part (a) of each question on language use which asked the informants to report on their level of language use and understanding. The interviews indicate that the decision to use this category was justified. This tendency to under-report language use is reminiscent of the widely-reported phenomenon that speakers of 'patois' have tended to deny that they know the 'patois' at all (Blanchet, 1994).

A recurrent theme across the majority of interviews was the desire to learn Breton for two main reasons: (1) to provide the means for cross-generational communication in Breton (especially between the informants and their grandparents) and/or (2) to reinforce Breton identity. Ironically, many informants cited communication with their grandparents as being one of the main reasons for wanting to learn the language, not realising initially that the two varieties of Breton spoken by themselves and their grandparents would not necessarily be mutually intelligible, and many of the informants expressed their frustration at learning a variety of Breton which was not understood by the very native speakers of Breton they wished to communicate with, as shown by the comments of another 17 year old male's response when asked whether his parents spoke Breton: *'pas beaucoup, justement, enfin ma mère connaît un petit peu, mais c'est pas du tout le même breton qu'on étudie, nous, quoi. Non dans les villages comme ça ils comprennent pas le breton, c'est littéraire plutôt ce qu'on fait, nous, donc c'est pas la même chose, quoi'*.

The issue of cross-generational communication was not raised in the questionnaire, and this is a clear example of the interview data providing further insights into the questionnaire responses and raising supplementary points. One of the social costs of language death is the temporary loss of cross-generational communication. For an older generation to be unable to communicate linguistically with their grandchildren is a severe emotional deprivation.

In focusing on the extent of young people's desire to learn Breton, this first stage of questioning identified the source of the attitudes and described their underlying structures. The results revealed that the majority of informants had positive attitudes towards improving their knowledge of Breton, although responses to later questions showed a reluctance to translate these positive attitudes into positive action. A fourteen year old girl explains that she would like to be able to understand Breton because *'c'est quand même notre langue du début'*, and this theme is repeated in the response of a fifteen year old girl: *'oui, ça me plairait parce qu'on peut très bien revenir après aux origines'*. The notion of origins is also implicit in the answer of an 11 year old boy who says of learning Breton: *'c'est quand même important vu que j'habite en Bretagne de connaître le breton'*, and in the comments of an 18 year old male who says that learning Breton would be a good thing *'pour connaître un peu ses racines'*, although he then goes on to say *'mais pas pour s'en servir quoi, puisque ça est devenu un peu inutile maintenant'*. An 11 year old boy also evokes this conception of the redundancy of Breton with his contention that *'c'est pas nécessaire d'apprendre le breton parce qu'on s'en sert plus maintenant'* (i.e. on ne s'en sert plus). This sentiment is voiced by a small minority of informants, and includes several references to the perceived impending death of the language, as in the claim of a 15 year old boy that *'c'est une langue presque morte maintenant avec les anciennes qui la parlent'*. This conflict between the old and the new re-emerges later in the questionnaire and the interviews where the informants are asked whether they think Breton is an old people's language and whether they consider it more useful to learn English or German rather than Breton. This distinction is of course also implicit in the difference between *bretonnants* (native speakers of Breton) and *néo-bretonnants* (those who speak Breton as a second language).

The other factor identified by the analysis of the questionnaire responses, that of 'Future of the language', characterised interrelated reactions to statements 10 to 13 on the questionnaire concerning the learning of Breton and the preservation of the language. The responses to the corresponding interview questions showed there to be widespread support for learning English or another *'langue vivante'* in preference to Breton, and opposition to making Breton classes obligatory in schools: *'il faut pas les forcer'*, *'pas obligatoire'*, although there was strong support for making it more widely available and making provision optional: *'je pense pas qu'il devrait être obligatoire, mais je pense qu'il devrait être un peu plus proposé quoi'* (15 year old girl) *'obligatoire, non, mais je pense qu'on devrait apporter plus d'aide, plus de facilité à ce qu'on puisse apprendre le breton, c'est un choix personnel.'* (18 year old male). These comments highlight the rather ad hoc nature of Breton-teaching provision, which is further handicapped by the opposition of teachers in certain schools to the teaching of Breton, a point made by several informants: *'je pense pas obligatoire mais que ça soit plus conseillé que maintenant quoi parce que maintenant ici les profs, ils sont plutôt contre qu'on fasse le breton'* (14 year old boy).

When asked *Est-ce qu'il est important que les enfants apprennent à parler français et breton?* many interviewees talked in general terms of maintaining Breton culture: *'c'est bon pour la culture de la Bretagne'* (14 year old boy), whereas others were more specific, like this 18 year old female who sees the learning of Breton and French by children as a positive step towards the revival of the language: *'oui, ben, comme on est bretons, quand même il faut qu'on ait des racines et comme la langue disparaît de plus en plus, on entend de moins en moins de gens qui parlent breton, alors qu'on voit les vieilles personnes qui parlent breton quoi, donc je pense que ça serait bien d'apprendre les deux pour faire revivre la langue, moi j'aurais aimé être baignée déjà dedans toute petite'*.

A strong sense of Breton identity was in evidence in many responses to this question as exemplified by the comments of this 14 year old boy: *'oui, parce qu'en plus de leur langue maternelle, il faut quand même apprendre la langue, la langue de notre région, je trouve que c'est, ça fait partie d'un patrimoine, c'est, je trouve que c'est indispensable'*. This notion of identity operating at both national and regional levels is expressed more or less explicitly by a number of informants including this 13 year old girl: *'oui, parce que bon ben, le français, c'est pour le pays mais le breton, ben, c'est quand même la langue régionale'*, and this 16 year old boy: *'un enfant, c'est toujours intéressant pour lui de savoir deux langues, et le français c'est obligé puisque nous sommes en France, mais nous vivons aussi en Bretagne et parler breton c'est pour eux, pour leur culture.'* The specific case of Breton was bypassed by several informants who concentrated instead on the educational advantages of learning two languages as a child: *'oui, c'est important parce que comme ça ils vont avoir déjà, être bilingue, et comme ça pour l'anglais à la limite ça serait plus facile après et pour les autres langues aussi'* (14 year old girl).

Minority opposition to the learning of both languages is characterised by a negative perception of the usefulness of learning Breton: *'je pense pas que le breton c'est utile, ben je pourrais l'apprendre l'année prochaine si je voulais, mais c'est pas une langue européenne, c'est une langue morte, il faut plutôt apprendre, ben, l'anglais, l'espagnol, ben les langues étrangères'* (15 year old girl). This response also provides further support for the affirmation that it is more useful to learn English or German than Breton, an assertion strongly endorsed by both questionnaire and interview informants.

Although it is likely that the responses to the three components of the 'Future of Breton' factor examined so far will give cause for concern to those anxious to see a revival of the language, the mainly positive reactions to the final question *'est-ce qu'il est important de conserver la langue bretonne'*, may provide some grounds for optimism. For 74% of questionnaire informants, conservation of the language was perceived to be of the utmost importance, and this overwhelmingly positive reaction, was reflected in the interview responses where informants cited a number of related reasons concerning regional identity and culture: *'ben, c'est vrai que ça disparaît de plus en plus, le breton, et je pense que justement il faut faire des efforts pour le conserver, et puis il faut qu'on apprenne le breton dès un jeune âge quoi. Quand on parle de la Bretagne on pense tout de suite au breton, à la langue, et on a envie de connaître un peu la langue, alors s'il y'avait plus de breton, ça serait plus pareil, on serait des Français c'est tout, on aurait rien d'autre'* (16 year old girl). The sentiment that something important would be lost if Breton was to die out completely was evoked in many responses: *'ben oui, il faut* *la conserver parce que c'est, ça vient de chez nous et puis on a, c'est quelque chose qu'on peut pas nier, quoi, c'est à nous. C'est comme les Basques qui parlent toujours le basque, enfin comme on a pas la même langue que les autres, on se sent plus libérés'* (16 year old boy). However, in spite of this ardent display of support for the preservation of Breton, many informants stressed that they themselves did not wish to play a part in the revival process, as in the case of this 15 year old girl who goes so far as to say that without Breton, Brittany in its true sense cannot exist, but she makes it clear that she is not willing to aid in the prevention of this outcome: *'oui, je trouve que c'est, puisque sinon, si on, si on parle plus breton, il y aura plus de Bretagne, oui il y aura toujours la Bretagne mais ça sera plus pareil parce que personne parlera breton, des mots comme ça, je trouve ça important qu'il y aura toujours des gens qui parlent breton,* ***pas spécialement moi, mais d'autres****.'* The same attitude is also in evidence for a 15 year old boy who again agrees that the language should be preserved, but states explicitly that he does not want to have a role in this process: *'si ça se perd, c'est une sorte de culture qui bon, si ça s'arrête, ben, il y aura plus rien après, moi je dis qu'il faut, il faut continuer,* ***moi je suis pas là pour continuer, mais il y a d'autres qui continueront****'*. The assumption that others will take up the struggle for the language is implicit in many responses which typically deny any responsibility for the language whilst extolling the virtues of its contribution towards Breton culture: *'oui, c'est très important parce qu'il faut la conserver, il faut pas la perdre quoi, c'est, c'est vraiment une chose importante parce que si on perdait le breton on perdrait la culture bretonne, et perdre une culture c'est toujours embêtant, c'est toujours appauvrissant pour le pays, même la France, tout le monde peut en profiter, tout le monde a des choses à apprendre de la culture bretonne ou de la langue'* (16 year old female).

The global picture provided by the qualitative analysis indicated that although *in theory* informants expressed a keen interest in improving their competence in Breton, and were eager to learn to use it as an expression of their Breton identity, the *reality* of the situation showed them to be opposed to initiatives which would ultimately encourage this, such as the compulsory teaching of Breton in schools. This paradoxical situation was also very much in evidence in the questionnaire data where the contrast between attitudes towards preservation of the language and action taken to secure this outcome, was even more striking due to the minimal interest shown in learning Breton amongst the questionnaire respondents. Just as Edwards (1985: 146), with reference to Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century, distinguishes between *positive* and *favourable* attitudes (Edwards suggests that language attitudes towards English were positive and instrumental, but not necessarily favourable or integrative), we can make a distinction in this paper between the *active* and *passive* expression of attitudes: many people *express* positive attitudes towards Breton without actively *engaging* in the realisation of goals associated with these attitudes. Jones (1995) comments on a similar phenomenon in her study of the language situation in a commune in Finistère, pointing out that although such passive support may be more desirable than opposition to the language, there is little point in organising additional Breton classes at school if no-one actually opts for them.

(5) Summary and Conclusions.

Case studies such as Dorian's work on East Sutherland Gaelic (1981) and Trudgill's research on Arvanitika (1983) have shown that in situations of language obsolescence, the attitudes of young people living in the region where the language has traditionally been spoken may have important repercussions on the linguistic prosperity of that region. This is also the most important question faced by those involved with the revival of the Welsh language as demonstrated by Baker (1992).

This paper set out to examine the passive and active expression of attitudes in respect of the Breton language in education in Brittany. The results obtained from the questionnaire study demonstrated quite clearly that there were marked differences between passive and active engagement with the language and oral and written ability, based on self-reports. Although almost half (45%) of the informants declared themselves able to understand Breton, only 24% of these informants were relatively confident in their ability. When asked if they could write Breton, only 22% of those questioned responded affirmatively, and on analysing the data further it was found that for 75% of informants responding positively, this consisted of writing in a classroom environment. Moreover, this association of Breton with the school setting was further reinforced by the distribution of the age group responses which, according to the self-reports, showed that the 15-16 year olds possessed the most competence in Breton, a finding which re-emerged in respect of this age group in the interview data. The self-reporting of the two regional groups in the questionnaire had indicated, predictably, that the Basse Bretagne informants perceived themselves to be markedly more proficient in Breton than those from Haute Bretagne. There were no differences between male and female groups with regard to their use of Breton.

The interview data revealed that many informants differentiated between being Breton and being a *true* Breton, by specifying that whereas the former did not require any knowledge of Breton, the latter did: *pour être* ***un vrai****, ça dépend dans quelle mesure, oui, enfin, pour moi la conception d'un* ***vrai*** *Breton, il faut quand même parler breton'* (16 year old female). In spite of this perception of the relative unimportance of Breton in the determination of *individual* Breton identity, interview responses concerning the preservation of the Breton language displayed very positive attitudes because of its perceived importance in the defining of *regional* identity as opposed to *personal* identity. Several informants said that the death of Breton would result in a loss of regional identity: *'oui, pour moi il y aurait plus*[4] *de pays, ça serait plus la Bretagne'* (14 year old male). This suggests that the informants distinguished between their support for the *general* idea support was not necessarily all-embracing: responses to subsequent questions revealed that the majority of informants did not consider it important for children to learn to speak Breton in addition to French. The interview data also found the idea of obligatory teaching of Breton in schools to be unpopular amongst the interviewees.

Finally, turning to the issue of Breton as an 'endangered language', it would appear that the decline in the number of Breton speakers, particularly after the two World Wars, gave rise to a situation which would normally result in language death: an end to the uninterrupted transmission of the language from generation to generation (Press 1992: 421). Consequently, the Breton language community in both parts of Brittany is an ageing one, and only 3% of the young questionnaire informants in the present study claimed to be able to speak the language perfectly. The decline in speaker numbers is largely due to the non-transmission of the language from the grandparents to the parents of children in present-day Brittany. The school has replaced the home for this younger generation as the main opportunity to learn the language, and the limited number of pupils who learn Breton in this way is unlikely to have a major impact on the dominance of the French language in Brittany. The latest developments, however, do provide some hope for the future of Breton. According to Press (1992), attitudes towards the language seem to be becoming more favourable, 'thanks to new perceptions of Europe, hard-won educational gains, and perhaps a realisation by French politicians that the most dangerous linguistic threat to the nation comes from the English language rather than from the regional languages.' (Press 1992: 421). The persistence and hard work of the many supporters of Breton language and culture, and the changes in the official attitudes to Breton over the last twenty years together with major developments in education, suggest that the decline of the language may at least be halted if not reversed.

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[4] '*plus*' here has the negative sense (no …longer) , *ne* is omitted.

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Abstract

Fire Under Ashes
The Parkatêjê Indians' Self-Acknowledgement

Leopoldina Araújo
UFPA/BRASIL
[leomaria@amazon.com.br]

Parkatêjê is an Indian tribe from the Brazilian Amazon, whose language is a Timbira dialect (Jê/Macro-Jê). Living at the southeast of the State of Pará, their area nowadays is very small compared to the territory that was once occupied by this people.

In steady contact with Brazilian society since 1956, the tribe almost lost its traditions and memory. In 1968, anthropologists from the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro predicted its extinction in a decade.

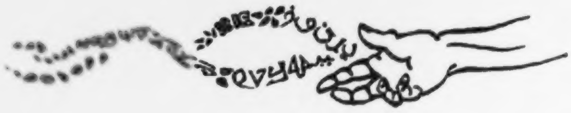
Even in 1974, the few children were no longer receiving Indian names. The people had decided to end their existence. But in the beginning of 1975, after a Project of Self-Management of Indigenous Tribes - jointly undertaken by the University of São Paulo (USP) and the Indian Support National Foundation (FUNAI) - this people started to recover their self-esteem and restarted to practise their rituals that had appeared to be forgotten. They have also restarted to give their children indigenous names.

In 1981, the chief Krôhôkrenhum asked to record the history of the myths, fearing its disappearance. In 1989, Krôhôkrenhum asked to install a School in the Indian settlement, in order to avoid the the displacement of the youngsters who wanted to continue their studies in the neighbouring city.

For a year we discussed the project, with the youngsters who would take part in it: its underlying thesis was the understanding that, by keeping the language and traditions alive, they could guarantee their territory and their rights in the Brazilian society.

From this project a book was written. The idea that oriented the writing of the book was to produce a book that can be used from the beginning until the end of school, in the Indian settlement and, still, that can be used by the elders, beside the School, to teach the children the traditional culture.

The yard, the center of the circular Indian settlement, is where, daily, the decisions are made, in the nightly meetings set up by the men, around the chief. Lately one idea discussed there is the idea of constructing a day nursery where children could be taken care of by the older people that correctly speak the traditional language, in order to restore the use of this language from early childhood.



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Working with Non-Written Languages

Language Proficiency Testing of Children in Indigenous Language Education Settings: Te Reo Mäori as a Case Study

Winifred Crombie, Waldo Houia and Tamati Reedy
School of Mäori and Pacific Development
The University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand
[crombie@waikato.ac.nz; w.houia@waikato.ac.nz; tamati@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

In March 1999 the New Zealand Ministry of Education indicated that it wanted a Mäori language proficiency test to be developed and trialled. The test was to be appropriate for students in Year 5 of schooling (aged 9/10) who were being educated wholly, or in part, through the medium of Mäori language. In this paper, we discuss the development and trialling of that proficiency test, focusing on the problems we experienced as well as on the test itself and on the ways in which it might contribute to future educational developments.

Introduction

Over the last five years, there have been substantial increases in the number of students enrolled in Mäori-medium education in New Zealand. In 1993, there were 19, 329 such students; by 1997, that number had risen to 32, 067. Of these, 85% identified as Mäori. This means that in 1997, 19% of all Mäori students in New Zealand schools were involved in some form of Mäori-medium education as compared with 14% in 1993. Of the 19% involved in Mäori-medium education, 14% were studying in kura kaupapa Mäori, that is, in schools that aim to provide a holistic Mäori spiritual, cultural and educational environment.

Students studying in Mäori-medium educational settings may be involved in anything from 31% to 100% tuition in, and through the medium of, Mäori. In addition to those students who are studying wholly, or in part, through the medium of Mäori, there are others who are studying Mäori as a school subject. In 1997, 18% of Mäori students in schools were learning Mäori as a school subject (Ministry of Education Report 97 - 98). These figures indicate the importance of being able to determine students' progress in Mäori. Developing Mäori language assessment measures is, therefore, an important part of the New Zealand Government's Mäori Language Strategy. The work reported on here relates directly to that overall Strategy.

Task Outline

Our primary task was to develop and pilot, within a three month period, a Mäori language proficiency test suitable for students in Year 5 (generally aged nine or ten) of Mäori-medium schooling in New Zealand. Throughout the development of the test, we were asked to bear in mind the relevance of each of the following:

.the specific needs, concerns and values of Mäori students, teachers and parents and, in particular, the importance of information, consultation and culturally appropriate procedures and outcomes;

.the importance of reflecting national and international research on testing and assessment and, in particular, the need to bear in mind literature on communicative language testing and on the interaction between cognitive and linguistic development;

.the need to relate the test to the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* and, in particular, to take account of the current curriculum statement for Mäori language and of possible future developments of that statement;

.the need to ensure that the test was as cost-effective as possible and as simple as possible to administer and score, disrupted day-to-day teaching as little as possible, was likely to have a positive impact on teaching practice, and provided students, even those who had, as yet, very limited competency in the language, with a positive and interesting experience;

.the need to relate the test to an appropriate pedagogic description of the Mäori language, a description that accommodated discourse considerations;

.the need to design the test in a way that fully acknowledged that different language skills were likely to develop at different rates.

In addition to these requirements, we were asked to make suggestions about how the Ministry of Education might manage the test with particular reference to questions of privacy and confidentiality.

Strategic Planning

The limited time available to us meant that we had to plan very carefully. We began by contacting stakeholders to inform them about the planned research and development.

We also set up an advisory panel whose members we could consult as the work proceeded. Our next task was to design and distribute two questionnaires, one relating to the language backgrounds of Year 5 students in Mäori-medium schooling, the other relating to the language backgrounds and professional development interests of their teachers. In parallel with this, we established contact with a number of potential project consultants. These were people who could help with various aspects of the project. All of the tasks had to be carefully timed and coordinated so that we could be sure of meeting the Ministry's deadlines for reporting on various aspects of the project, and so that the final report could be as inclusive as possible.

Problems and Opportunities

It was decided at the beginning of the project that it would be a co-operative one, that all relevant expertise would be welcomed. Although most of those involved would be fluent speakers of Mäori, some would not. This meant that although some meetings were conducted exclusively in Mäori, and although some of the documentation was produced in Mäori only, many discussions, and much of the documentation, involved both English and Mäori. There were some disadvantages in this, particularly in relation to the additional time required. There were, however, also advantages: being able to draw on as wide a knowledge-base as possible; defining English terms very clearly before attempting the difficult task of developing terminology in Mäori to deal with a complex, hitherto largely unexplored, lexical domain; providing access to the results of the work to non-Mäori, including those Ministry of Education officials who do not speak Mäori. We considered the last of these advantages to be particularly important for two reasons. First, we hoped that the work might assist others in New Zealand who wished to design proficiency tests for community languages such as, for example, Tongan and Samoan. Secondly, we wanted to ensure that contact was maintained with the national and international academic community.

Within New Zealand educational circles, the term 'second language' is often used to refer to "a language other than the language of instruction" (Ministry of Education Report 97 - 98). This means that Mäori is generally considered to be the first language of those students who are studying through the medium of Mäori even where they have been involved in Mäori-medium education for a relatively short time, where they have not attended kohanga reo (Mäori language preschool programmes), and where they do not have parents or caregivers who are fluent speakers of the language. Although there are certain social and political advantages in defining first and second language in this way, there are also potential disadvantages. These relate, in part, to expectations. In assessing how successful schools are in producing competent users of Mäori, careful consideration needs to be given to the length of time each student has actually spent in a Mäori-medium educational setting, to the range of Mäori language domains available to the child in the community, and to the child's language experiences at home.

There is a further area of potential difficulty to which reference should be made at this point. The language spoken by children, however competent, will not necessarily reflect, in all respects, the expectations of their elders. Like all other languages, Mäori is subject to change. Thus, quite apart from developmental considerations, there are issues relating to language change that need to be addressed. The dearth of research evidence in this area meant that there would inevitably be some uncertainty in relation to how certain usages should be judged. However, transcriptions of test responses would themselves provide a valuable research resource and would inform our communications with teachers. Thus, we could, on the basis of pilot test responses, provide analysed exemplars of performance which would alert teachers to characteristic usages.

Designing the Test

In the initial stages of development, we needed to give careful consideration to six related issues:

. how we were going to interpret the complex concept of proficiency;

. how we would develop proficiency descriptor statements relating to levels of performance;

. how we would design the test itself: whether language skills would be fully integrated, or whether the test would have have different sections relating to different types of language skill;

how far the test would be 'communicative' in nature;

. how we would reflect the expectations enshrined in the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework*;

. how we would reflect the cultural and educational vales inherent in Mäori education adequately, at the same time as attempting to meet the rigorous standards that must be required of any language test that is commissioned by a government agency.

These issues are jointly addressed under the four sub-headings below: Language Proficiency; Language Proficiency and the New Zealand Curriculum Framework; Cultural, Linguistic and Cognitive Appropriacy; The Concept of 'Communicative' Testing.

Language Proficiency

We began by defining proficiency, in general terms, as involving knowledge of language (not knowledge about language) and the ability to make use of that knowledge in performing a range of communicative activities. Thus, proficiency was conceptualised as involving a combination of operational competence and pragmatic competence, with operational competence relating to grammatical competence and textual competence, and pragmatic competence relating to illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence.

One of the major debates in academic circles surrounding language proficiency relates to the extent to which general language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) relate to academic and cognitive performance. Cummins (1986, p. 164) notes, for example, that "it is inappropriate to use test scores from linguistic academic . . . tasks as an accurate assessment for these skills in a child's second language for at least several years of schooling". There is, currently, no research relating to bilingual and Māori-immersion schooling in New Zealand that indicates the stage at which comparisons might validly be made in relation to language and literacy and other curriculum areas. Even in the absence of such research, it seems sensible to assume that there are likely to be some similarities between the situation of students studying in Māori-immersion contexts in New Zealand and that of language minority students who, as Cummins observes (1984), may take considerably longer to attain grade/age appropriate levels in second language academic skills than it does for them to achieve such a level in face-to-face communication.

There is, then, a major difference between face-to-face conversational fluency and verbal-academic skills, the latter taking considerably longer to develop than the former. Clearly, both are required in the case of students who are learning academic subjects through the medium of Māori. However, to have made verbal-academic skills the exclusive focus of the test would have been, we believe, inappropriate in the case of students who are in their fifth year of schooling, particularly as many of these students have, as our questionnaire returns indicated, had limited exposure to the language. Furthermore, a secure foundation in day-to-day conversational interaction skills can provide a firm foundation for the development of cognitive-academic skills.

Language Proficiency and the New Zealand Curriculum Framework

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) states the *principles* underlying all teaching and learning, the *seven essential learning areas*, and the *essential skills* to be developed by all students. It gives direction to the more specific *national curriculum statements*, and outlines the *policy for assessment* at school and national levels. Under the heading of communication skills, reference is made to "listening, speaking, reading, and writing", and to "different cultural, language, and social contexts" (p.18). The *principles* include reflection of the multicultural nature of New Zealand, including ensuring "that the experiences, cultural traditions, histories, and languages of all New Zealanders are recognised and valued" (p.7).

The *National Curriculum Statements* define in more detail the knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes, and values described in the *National Curriculum Framework* and specify the learning outcomes for all students. General objectives, described as "achievement objectives" are defined, and set out in a number of levels (usually eight) to indicate progression and continuity throughout schooling from years 1 - 13. The Curriculum Statements also suggest assessment procedures, provide assessment examples, and include guidelines relating to appropriate approaches to teaching and learning. Curriculum and assessment policy for all years of schooling is based on these New Zealand curriculum documents.

Like other Curriculum Statements, the Māori curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996) specifies eight levels of attainment that are not specifically related to age or years of schooling. On the assumption, however, that the majority of students would, in core subjects, progress through at least one curriculum level in two years of schooling, we attempted to focus our testing of students in Year 5 of schooling on Levels 2 and 3 of the curriculum, with some parts of the assessment relating to Levels 1 and 4. There were, however, difficulties in determining what was expected of students at each of the curriculum levels 1 - 4 for a number of reasons:

- the curriculum provides no rationale for the decisions reached in terms of assignment of particular categories to specific levels;
- vocabulary is banded over several levels. Thus, for example, entries may span Levels 1 - 3, or 4 - 6;
- little account is taken of discourse considerations and so it is difficult to determine precisely what the expectations are in relation to fully contextualised language use.

These points are not intended as criticisms: there are reasons for each. Even so, they did present us with difficulties in attempting to relate the test to the curriculum statement in any precise way. The decision we reached was that we would focus on relevant aspects of the general statements of achievement in the curriculum, rather than on the curriculum details. These statements of achievement are expressed in terms of the following skills: listening, speaking, reading, writing, viewing, presenting. Thus, at Levels 3 and 4 in listening, the learner is expected, for example, to be able to synthesise spontaneous and recorded language, identify significant language features (verbal and non-verbal), identify the intention of the speaker, and remember main topic ideas. Clearly, we needed to take account of these objectives in designing the proficiency level descriptors for our test. However, it was also important to pay careful attention to the New Zealand curriculum statements for modern languages such as Spanish and Japanese. This is because these statements include language learning descriptors (general statements about language development) at different levels. Thus, for example, the curriculum statement for Spanish (Ministry of Education, 1995) includes four *language development descriptors*, each spanning two of the eight curriculum levels. The first of these is outlined below:

> . *emergent communication: levels 1 and 2*
>
> Learners can understand language that contains well-rehearsed sentence patterns and familiar vocabulary, and can interact in predictable exchanges. They can read and write straightforward versions of what they have learned to say. They are aware of and understand the typical cultural conventions that operate in interpersonal communication. Although they may be enthusiastic participants in class, learners may still be reticent about speaking Spanish outside the classroom.

We began by designing general proficiency level descriptors that would relate to all levels of proficiency and would, therefore, be appropriate for a proficiency test designed for adults. From the eight level descriptors we designed at this initial stage, we abstracted the first four and redesigned them with the needs of Year 5 students in mind. We then designed more specific descriptors that related to listening, speaking, reading and writing. The general proficiency level descriptors are listed below followed by an example of a skills-related descriptor.

Proficiency Level Descriptors: general

LEVEL 0
Non-user
To be used only where the student provided no appropriate responses to the test materials.

LEVEL 1 (emergent communication: beginner)
Intermittent user
The student can recognise, understand and use a few familiar words, phrases and sentences and can follow some simple instructions and respond appropriately (verbally and/or physically) to a limited range of simple questions.

LEVEL 2 (emergent communication: elementary)
Limited user
The student can recognise, understand and use simple language that contains well-rehearsed sentence patterns and familiar vocabulary in predictable contexts. S/he can understand and respond appropriately to simple questions and instructions S/he can interact in culturally and linguistically appropriate ways in a limited range of familiar contexts. Routine, learned responses may be delivered confidently. However, more complex communicative requirements are likely to be marked by hesitancy, error, inappropriacy and misunderstandings.

LEVEL 3 (survival skills: early intermediate)
Moderate user
The student can understand and use familiar language with some flexibility and can pick up some new language from its context. S/he can understand and respond appropriately to many questions and instructions relating to people, things and events. S/he can interact in culturally and linguistically appropriate ways in a range of familiar and unfamiliar contexts. S/he demonstrates a developing understanding of the linguistic sequencing of events and of the ways in which the relationships among events may be indicated linguistically. S/he can make appropriate connections between visually and verbally presented information and can use these connections in formulating appropriate responses. Both routine, learned responses and language that is adapted to meet the requirements of new situations is used correctly and appropriately much of the time.

LEVEL 4 (survival skills: intermediate))
Competent user
The student can understand and use familiar language flexibly, is adept at picking up new language from context, and can adapt his or her language to meet the needs of a range of new contexts and situations. S/he can respond appropriately, coherently and accurately to both simple and more complex instructions. S/he can understand the ways in which people, things and events interact in coherent discourse and can reflect that understanding in responding to, and using, the language.

Proficiency Level Descriptors: skills-specific (example)

READING LEVEL 2 (emergent communication: elementary) Limited user

The student can read and understand a range of familiar words and a range of simple, well-rehearsed sentence patterns which provide simple, factual and descriptive information relating to people, actions, circumstances, and feelings. Familiar words, and routine, learned phrase, clause and sentence patterns may be read with confidence. However, more complex reading requirements are likely to be marked by frequent misunderstandings.

Cultural, Linguistic and Cognitive Appropriacy

As Armour-Thomas observes: "The more familiar and culturally appropriate the content of the stimulus materials, the more likely children are to demonstrate behaviour that accurately represents their real abilities" (1992). The test, as Figueroa recommends, was developed and normed in relation to the target group (Figueroa, 1990). In this respect, it can be seen as meeting the criteria proposed by Crombie and Johnson (1998), and as representing a considerable advance on earlier Ministry of Education recommendations (Ministry of Education, 1998).

One advantage we had in designing this test was that cultural considerations could be treated as of central importance from the outset. In deciding on the test vocabulary, we decided to echo the thematic foci indicated in the lexical listing in the Mäori curriculum. In doing so, we found that several of the central beliefs and values listed in the *Te Aho Matua Curriculum* (the curriculum of some kura kaupapa Mäori schools) surfaced. It may be that these beliefs and values would have surfaced in any event. However, the fact that they did is what really matters.

Hëmi and Miria, the central test characters, are cousins, a Mäori boy and girl of approximately the same age as the test subjects. The other characters are mainly school friends and members of the extended family of Hëmi and Miria. The test moves between urban and rural settings as Hëmi, who has recently moved from a rural to an urban home, reflects on his experiences and prepares for a holiday back home in the country.

In determining the overall cognitive focus of the test, we decided to concentrate on the concrete operational stage generally considered to apply to children in the 8 to 11 year old range. That is, we aimed to provide concrete rather than abstract referents for logical connections (Piaget & Inhelder, 1971; Brainerd, 1978). In designing the test, we adopted the middle ground between the assessment of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1980). To have focused exclusively on interpersonal communication skills would have involved long-term observation and recording; adopting a middle ground allowed for a more cost-effective and less intrusive approach. Because language skills development can be uneven, and because students will not all exhibit the same pattern of skills development, we aimed to produce a test that had four sections, each one focusing on a different general language skill (listening, reading, speaking, writing).

Interpersonal communication involves the negotiation of meaning in context using a wide range of paralinguistic and situational cues. Cognitive/academic proficiency, on the other hand, tends to be marked by the ability to respond appropriately in the absence of rich extra-linguistic cues and, thus, to make maximum use of the cues that are available in language itself. In order to avoid placing too much emphasis on the latter, we began by providing some contextual information in the form of pictures of the central test characters and some of their extended family members, pictures that reappeared in the test booklets given to students. We also decided to ensure that there was thematic continuity, that each section of the test was linked thematically to the preceding one/s. Although this thematic and pictorial continuity would provide students with an increasingly rich range of contextual cues as the test proceeded, it was important also to ensure that these cues were not essential to adequate performance in each section of the test, that, in other words, there were sufficient linguistic cues in each section of the test to allow for successful completion irrespective of performance in earlier sections. There is, however, one exception. In the case of the writing section of the test, we make direct reference to the reading section. This is because we felt that the benefits to be gained from fully contextualizing the writing task outweighed any disadvantages. Even so, it is possible, though more difficult, to complete the writing task with reference only to the cues contained in the student booklet.

The Concept of 'Communicative' Testing

'Communicative' language testing is generally considered to be testing that mimics, as closely as possible, the sorts of interactions that take place in day-to-day communicative contexts. This type of language testing is endorsed by the New Zealand Ministry of Education. It is, however, extremely difficult to create a test that mimics day-to-day communicative interaction without also creating very considerable difficulties in relation to administration and scoring. In order to demonstrate this, we designed two different tests, the test that we recommended for use, and a test that was considerably more 'communicative' in the sense outlined above. In the second test, the more communicative one, listening and speaking are fully integrated, and so speaking scores inevitably rely heavily on listening scores. Furthermore, students take each part of the test individually, rather than in groups, whereas in the recommended test only the speaking section needs to be administered separately to each student. Finally, because students may respond in a wide variety of different ways, there is little specific guidance that we can give teachers in relation to scoring. Overall, the more communicative test is less cost effective and more difficult to adminisater and score. Even so, we felt that it was important that we demonstrated this in practice rather than simply stating our reasons for the approach we eventually decided to adopt.

The Test

The test aims to assess the students' ability to:

- understand and interpret spoken Mäori used in context;

. extract general and particular meanings from written texts dealing with day-to-day topics;

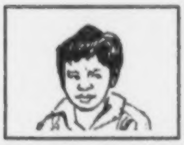
. drawing on visually presented information, write clear, well organised and coherent Mäori dealing with a specific topic;

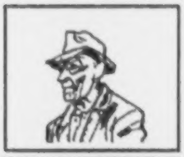
. with reference to an event sequence represented pictorially, respond and interact appropriately in spoken Mäori.

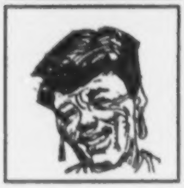
The test is divided into four parts: listening, reading, writing, and speaking. Before each section of the test, there are practice tasks to prepare the students for the test response requirements.

The listening section of the test involves listening to a narrative about the experiences of a young Mäori boy and his family in moving from the country to the city. Narrative past time is interspersed with references to future plans and previous experiences, and there are temporal, comparative and logico-deductive links. The students are given a general focus question and then asked to listen to the entire narrative before attempting to answer the question. They are then given two questions relating to the first part of the narrative and invited to listen to that part again before answering these questions. This procedure is continued until the final section is reached. The questions are delivered orally as part of the listening tape. Students' answer books also provide written versions of the questions. Students respond by ticking one, or more than one, picture in their answer books. Under each picture (which provides a pictorial representation of a possible response), there are also written versions of possible responses. An example is provided below:

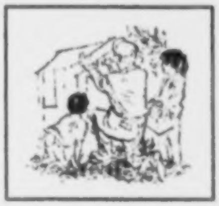
Mö wai tënei körero?


Mö Hëmi ☐

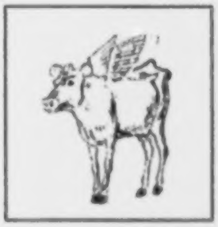

Mö Koro ☐


Mö Whäea Mihi ☐

Of course, as indicated below, it was often necessary to have more complex pictorial representations:



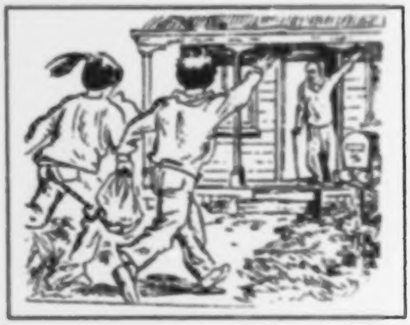
There were occasions also when we asked our illustrator, Alan Oliver, to represent aspects of Hëmi's imaginative life. At one point, for example, Hëmi wishes that his pet cow, Pirimai, could be magically transported to the city:



Although we decided, in order to make scoring as simple as possible, to use a multi-choice format for the listening and reading sections of the test, the students are advised that there may be one, or more than one, acceptable response. In some cases, students need to tick four boxes to cover all aspects of the response. This had a number of advantages, including the fact that it reduced the statistical probability of providing correct responses by chance. It also made the task of scoring much more straightforward than it might otherwise have been.

The reading section of the test involves reading a letter written by one of the main test characters to another. Once again, there is a multi-choice format. The writing section, however, offers more opportunity for individual response to the task. Even so, we built in a number of features that would constrain that choice. There were a number of reasons for this. The most important of these was that many teachers (60% of our sample) are themselves speakers of Mäori as a second language. They might, therefore, have some difficulty in evaluating test responses unless we were able to provide them with exemplars that were likely to reflect reasonably closely the type of responses that they would be required to evaluate.

The final section of the test is the speaking section. It involves a picture story. Here, students are given a series of ten pictures in order and, after being given a sentence that relates to the first picture, asked to tell the story that is represented by the pictures. There are a number of important sequential and logical links between the pictures. One of the pictures in the series is provided below:



The Pilot

We conducted a pilot of the test with seventy students in five schools. The overall score distribution is provided in Figure 1 below. In Figure 2, the overall distribution in terms of proficiency levels is given. Figures 3 provides a comparison of the proficiency levels in different skill areas achieved by the pilot test subjects. Figure 4 provides an example of the item analysis, showing the overall scores for each of the listening test questions and, hence, indicating the comparative level of difficulty of each question (with the most difficult questions scoring lowest overall).

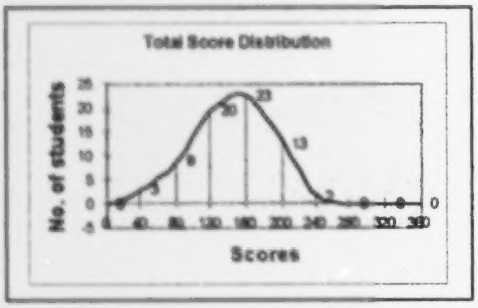


Figure 1: overall distribution of pilot test scores

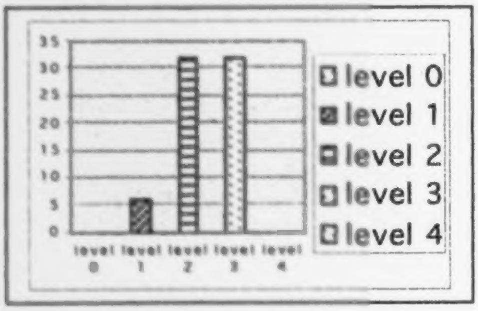


Figure 2: overall proficiency level distribution of pilot test subjects

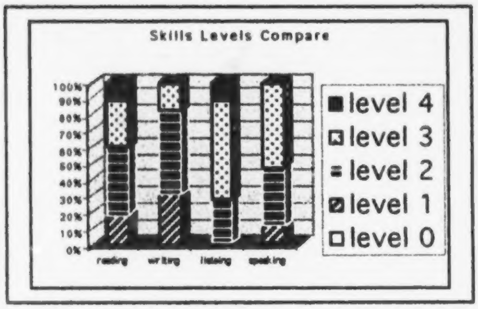


Figure 3: comparison of skills levels achieved by pilot test subjects

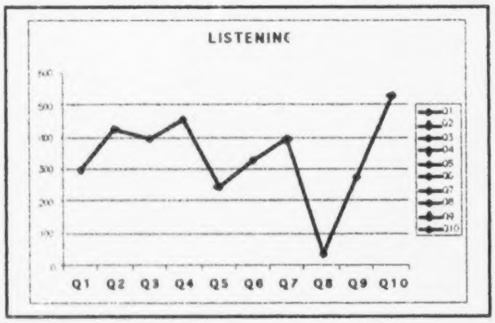


Figure 4: overall pilot test scores for each listening test question

For a number of reasons, the pilot test results should not be given too much weight. The pilot test conditions were not always ideal. Furthermore, the pilot test alerted us to certain alterations that needed to be made to the test itself and to the test marking schedule. Even so, it is interesting to note that most of the students scored overall in the Level 2 and Level 3 range (as we would have anticipated in terms of curriculum expectations) and that scores were higher for listening and speaking than they were for reading and writing (as we would also have expected).

Teacher Test Guides

An important aspect of our assignment was to produce a test that could be administered and scored by teachers without the need for major professional development. We therefore produced a number of guides for teachers to accompany the test. There is a test administration guide, a test scoring guide and analysed examples of typical writing and speaking responses. There is also an outline of the proficiency level descriptors and an explanation of how scores relate to proficiency levels.

Recommendations to the Ministry of Education

We did not recommend that the Ministry of Education made the test available immediately to schools. Before that can happen, a number of developments are required. We now have a single test. Before it can be adequately evaluated in relation to validity and reliability, further tests need to be developed as part of a test battery, and further pilot studies need to be conducted. A test moderator needs to be appointed to assist teachers with administration and scoring. Additional test batteries need to be developed that are appropriate for later stages of schooling. In particular, there is a need for a test battery that relates more directly to the language skills required for performing academic tasks.

Teacher professional development opportunities should be provided in relation to this test, and language assessment more generally. This could be supplemented by a test preparation materials bank and a test video. A test advice internet site could also be established.

It seems to us best that test results of individual students should be made available only to their own schools, and that if any any national recording of results takes place, it should be done in a way that protects the identity of students. Furthermore, any comparison of the test results of different schools is likely to be unhelpful. This is because (i) sample sizes will inevitably be small; (ii) student language backgrounds (including length of time in bilingual or immersion settings) vary widely.

Mäori proficiency testing needs to be supplemented by diagnostic testing and by research on the acquisition of the language by children. In the process of developing this test, we began work on diagnostic testing and on the acquisition of Mäori. We hope that we, and others, will have an opportunity to continue that work and that that work, and the results of proficiency testing itself, will inform future developments of the Mäori curriculum.

Beyond the Test: Implications for Education and the Revitalisation of Endangered Languages

Wherever schooling plays a role in language revitalisation, there is a need for assessment: assessment is a critical aspect of good teaching. We need not only proficiency tests, but also, and perhaps more importantly, diagnostic tests. We need to be able to determine particular areas of student need and be responsive to these areas of need. In all cases, there are likely to be considerable difficulties involved, difficulties that relate to the almost inevitable scarsity of funding and human resources. However, if those of us who have a common interest in language revitalisation are willing to share our experiences and our resources, the task, however difficult, should prove possible.

Thanks and Acknowledgments

We should like to record here our thanks to the New Zealand Ministry of Education for providing us with an opportunity to work on this project. We should also like to thank all of those who have made a contribution, including members of the advisory panel. We are particularly grateful to Diane Johnson, Alan Oliver, Tilly Reedy, Ngaere Houia-Roberts, Renee Sisley, Joanne Worship and Jun Qiao for their central contributions to the development of the test. Without earlier work in the field, no task such the one reported here is possible. In this area, we particularly wish to acknowledge the work of Katarina Edmonds who played a central role in developing a Mäori proficiency test for adults.

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You Can't Say That in Tuscarora: Obstacles to Literacy in an Oral Language

Blair A. Rudes
University of North Carolina at Charlotte
9201 University City Boulevard, Charlotte, N.C. 28223 USA
[barudes@aol.com]

Francene Patterson
Tuscarora Indian Nation
2045 Upper Mountain Road, Sanborn, N.Y. 14132 USA
[francenep@aol.com]

Abstract

In recent years the Tuscarora Indian Nation has begun taking action to slow and, hopefully, reverse the declining use of the Tuscarora language. The principal focus of the tribe's efforts has been improving the teaching of the language to community members. Major obstacles to this work have included the lack of an accepted writing system and the lack of a literary tradition. In 1995 the hereditary Chiefs Council approved a proposal submitted to oversee a language committee that has been charged with developing means for overcoming these obstacles and improving Tuscarora language education. Steps taken to date by the committee have included developing community awareness and involvement in language revitalization and adopting a standard orthography. Other language planning issues under consideration include pedagogical materials development, classroom instructional approaches, and involvement of the elders in promoting language growth, as in the development of new vocabulary for modern conveniences.

Introduction

For the Tuscaroras today knowledge of the Tuscarora language is an essential component their cultural identity.[1] As the carrier of the Tuscarora culture and belief system the Tuscarora language possesses vocabulary that has no ready translation in other languages, such as English. For example, the word útkęˀ denotes a spiritual force that most Tuscaroras believe is present in all elements of nature, both the animate and the inanimate. Some aspects of the universe possess more útkęˀ than others; these features are considered powerful or supernatural. Plants and minerals that possess great útkęˀ are used as medicines to cure illness or otherwise to aid the user; individuals with extraordinary útkęˀ are capable of seemly magical feats, such as clairvoyance, sorcery and healing. No single word or phrase in English can convey the full meaning of útkęˀ.

In the past the Tuscaroras took it for granted that knowledge of the language would be passed down to new generations, thereby ensuring survival of the culture. However, events in the twentieth century forced the Tuscaroras to reexamine their assumptions and institute formal language education programs.

Language Loss

Until the late 1800s nearly all members of the Nation spoke Tuscarora as their first language. And, as it had always been, the language was passed on orally from one generation to the next.

Beginning in the late 1800s many Tuscarora children were sent off-reservation to schools where they were forbidden to use their native language. The punishments for using their language were severe and left a lasting impression on the children. At the same time, the economic life of reservation residents became more closely intertwined with that of the surrounding non-Indian communities and there was a growing need to speak English. Given their experience as children at boarding schools and the economic necessities of the times, most Tuscaroras chose not to teach their children the language. Rather, they emphasized the learning of English. As a result, use of the language in the daily affairs of the Nation rapidly declined.

By the middle of the twentieth century both the anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace and the linguist Floyd G. Lounsbury found only a small number of fluent speakers on the Tuscarora Indian Nation Reservation, and in only a few families was the Tuscarora language in daily use.

In the early 1970s there were around forty fluent speakers living on the Tuscarora Indian Nati Reservation and another ten or so on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario. At present only one or two fluent speakers remain, although there are a number of individuals both in New York and Ontario who retain some facility with the language.

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[1] The Tuscarora Indian Nation is one of the six member nations of the Iroquois Confederacy in North America.

Teaching/Learning Styles

Prior to contact with European colonists in the late seventeenth century the major modes of teaching and learning among the Tuscaroras were one-on-one and small group mentoring, lecturing in the form of story-telling, and role-playing adult activities as games. Beginning in the nineteenth century the Tuscaroras were introduced to Euro-American styles of teaching and learning, first, through forced removal to boarding schools and, later, through required enrollment in public schools. By the mid-twentieth century the Euro-American model of education had become the dominant model among the Tuscaroras and only highly self-motivated tribal members engaged in traditional teaching and learning through mentoring and emulation.

Formal Language Instruction

The early twentieth century break in passing the language down orally from one generation to the next had profound effects. By mid-century only grandparents, and only some of them, retained the fluency in the language necessary for passing down Tuscarora culture and beliefs to the younger generations.

In 1969 the hereditary Chiefs Council of the Tuscarora Indian Nation officially took note of the perilous state of the language and, recognizing that some form of formal approach to teaching the language was needed, appointed Marjorie Printup to develop a pilot Tuscarora language program. The Council also recommended to the local, non-Indian public school board that the program be implemented in the Tuscarora School on the reservation. The recommendation was approved and the program began in the 1970-1971 school year.

Mrs. Printup was fifty years old at the time and a fluent native speaker of the language, having been raised in one of few households on the reservation in which the Tuscarora language had continued to be the primary language of communication throughout the first half of the twentieth century. For the next twenty-three years Mrs. Printup taught the Tuscarora language to over one hundred children each year in kindergarten through sixth grade for thirty minutes each school day (twenty minutes for kindergarteners). In addition, in 1970 Mrs. Printup started teaching two-to-three hour evening Tuscarora language classes for adults, which met thirty times each year.

Beginning in 1978, Mrs. Printup turned responsibility for the adult evening classes over to two of her students, Delma Printup and Francene Patterson. This left Mrs. Printup to focus on teaching the day classes for students in the school.

In 1992 Mrs. Printup took ill and Francene Patterson served as a substitute teacher for the day classes, while Delma Printup took responsibility for the evening classes. Having used up her sick leave, Mrs. Printup retired from the Tuscarora School in February 1993 and the school board appointed Mrs. Patterson to teach the day classes.

In 1995 Mrs. Patterson was removed from her teaching position due to a newly imposed requirement that all teachers in the school have New York State teaching certification, over the objection of the Tuscarora Chiefs Council. She was replaced by Mary (Betsy) Bissell who had teaching certification, albeit in physical education. In 1996 Mrs. Patterson returned to teaching the beginning level adult evening class, while Howard Hill, a native speaker of the language, took over teaching the advanced evening class.

Tuscarora Orthography

Because everyone on the reservation was literate in English by the twentieth century, the orthographies employed by speakers were based on English sound-letter correspondences. Unfortunately, the Tuscarora language shares few phonetic similarities with the English language and, as a result, there are many sounds in the language that have no obvious orthographic representation using English spelling conventions. As but one example, there is no good English equivalent to the sound of the one nasal vowel in Tuscarora, which is typically a high central, weakly nasalized, and often pharyngealized vowel. Individual speakers represent this sound variously with such letter combinations as «ea», «eh», «en», «in» and «ae».

Obstacles

Despite the appearance of texts and a dictionary in the language and agreement on an orthography, there remain serious obstacles to developing literacy for Tuscarora speakers in their own language. These obstacles may divided into barriers raised by cultural beliefs about language and linguistic difficulties imposed by the lack of a literary tradition.

Cultural Beliefs

The Tuscarora, and other Iroquois peoples, are highly suspicious of writing as a means of communication. The following excerpt from a posting on an Internet listserve devoted to Iroquois issues illustrates the point.[2]

> ... many of us have been taught we are to discuss many/certain things only face-to-face, one-on-one, etc., and not to unseen faces, and the on-line thing has been a big issue for some time--greatly due to those

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[2] Sheila Firehair, 4 May 1999, Iroquois@listserv.utoronto.ca.

> who take whatever they want and become oracles of some sort. Most Elders, or those of a more traditional mind set, use the inter net not at all, or for strictly business, business. If I get bent over something I see, am asked (or choose) to comment on, am the least unsure — I first go to my family — who tell me, or find out for me when it involves information/ whatever not indigenous to our own background, etc.

In a reply to this posting another participant on the listserve took up the issue of changing attitudes among the Iroquois regarding putting things down in writing.[3]

> Paula Gunn Allen has wrestled with the same problem ... In *Off Reservation* (Allen, 1998: 36), she recounted how a student helped clarify the matter for her: "He said that the elder people knew that we were disappearing, and when something is ending, it gets smaller. He said it's like a shutter on a camera, the opening grows smaller as it closes. That is why, he said, so many of us have begun to write: to write everything down so that there will be a record."
>
> I'm still [skeptical] about that evaluation. I don't feel quite disappeared, but, being 52, I do understand the urge to get it down, now...Then, again, oral tradition remains a record, too. Still, the younger folks are not showing a great inclination to listen and retain long chunks of material. The attention span of the west has infiltrated even Native culture.

Essentially the same changes in attitude have occurred on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation over the past twenty years, with many elders — the speakers — still reluctant to trust their words to writing, yet cognizant of the need to pass on their knowledge to the younger tribal members who often lack the patience to learn by the oral method.

Linguistic Issues

Because the Tuscarora language has evolved for face-to-face, one-on-one communication, it has never needed to develop the myriad mechanisms that written languages possess for communicating information that, in an oral society, is communicated by kinesics (body-language), suprasegmentals (e.g. length, pitch, stress) and paralinguistics (e.g. tone of voice, loudness). We will illustrate the problems here with examples involving deixis and suprasegmentals.

Deixis While developing a language lesson for a CD-ROM-based Tuscarora language program a Tuscarora speaker was asked how he would say "that's my boat" in response to the question káhnę·ˀ í·kę· ehę̀·wawęh? |káhnę·ˀ í·kę· e-hę̀·w-awę-h| "who it-is one-boat-possess-habitual" *whose boat is it?*. After several moments reflection the speaker stated, "you can't say that in Tuscarora". When pressed he explained that, in normal face-to-face interaction in which such a phrase would be appropriate, a Tuscarora would simply point at the boat and say akhę̀·wawęh |ak-hę̀·w-awę-h| "I-boat-possess-habitual" *my boat*. An expression such as *hení·kę· akhę̀·wawęh |hení·kę· ak-hę̀·w-awę-h| "that-is I-boat-possess-habitual" *that's my boat* was judged unacceptable by the speaker, since hení·kę· *that is* would not be used in this manner in face-to-face discourse. The closest approximation that was acceptable was the descriptive paraphrase ù·nę kahčaˀná·tih tíhsnęˀ ká·ˀnęh, "akhę̀·wawęh" |ù·nę k-ahčaˀn-á·ti-h tíhsnęˀ k-á·ˀnę-h ak-hę̀·w-awę-h| "now I-point out-dative-habitual and I-say-habitual I-boat-possess-habitual" *while pointing at it I say, "my boat"*.

Similarly, while developing a language lesson on imperative verbs it was discovered that the expression *kyení·kę· ę́hskęˀ! |kyení·kę· ę́-hs-kę-ˀ| "this-is future-you-see-punctual" *Look at this!* (polite imperative) is unacceptable. Instead, one would either say simply ę́hskęˀ! |ę́-hs-kę-ˀ| "future-you-see-punctual" *Look!* and point, or one might say ę́čkęˀ! |ę́-[č]-kę-ˀ| "future-[cislocative+you]-see-punctual" *Look here!* and point.

Suprasegmentals The Tuscarora language possess three suprasegmental phonemes: (1) a high-pitch, stress accent, (2) a low-pitch, stress accent, and (3) vowel length. Vowel length is contrastive only on vowels in word-final syllables or in syllables that receive high-pitch, stress accent. (All vowels in syllables that receive low-pitch, stress accent are long.) Apart from the phonemic length contrast, vowel length also plays an emphasizing role in the language. For example, the phrase unę́ha·ˀ wahrę́hrę·ˀ |unę́ha·ˀ wa-hr-ę́hrę·-ˀ| "olden factual-he-say-puncutal" means *a long time ago he said it*, but the phrase u···nę́ha·ˀ wahrę́hrę·ˀ |u···nę́ha·ˀ wa-hr-ę́hrę·-ˀ| "olden!!! factual-he-say-punctual|, with extra-phonemic length on the first vowel, means *a long, long, long time ago he said it*, and would be used typically in speaking of a mythic or biblical event.

In the same vein the verb form wahrayę́hskweˀ |wa-hra-yę́hskwe-ˀ| "factual-he-laugh-punctual" means *he laughed*, while wahrayę́···hskweˀ |wa-hra-yę́···hskwe-ˀ| "factual-he-laugh!!!-punctual" means *he laughed and laughed* (at something truly hilarious). At present, there exists no accepted manner in which to indicate such distinctions in the written language.

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[3] Barbara Mann, 4 May 1999, Iroquois@listserv.utoronto.ca.

Solutions

Within the past four years efforts have been begun to over each of the previously described obstacles. These efforts include formal training of language teachers and language planning.

Teacher Training

Up to the present day none of the individuals who have taught Tuscarora language classes on the reservation have had formal training in Euro-American classroom teaching, linguistics, or curriculum development. This, in turn, has hampered their ability to use a teaching style that is congruent with the Euro-American learning style of the students. Steps are now underway to correct this situation.

In 1996 one of the Tuscarora language teachers, Francene Patterson, enrolled in the Empire State College of the State University of New York to pursue her bachelor's degree in Native American linguistics and language pedagogy as a prelude to obtaining her teaching certification. Studying under the mentorship of Drs. Blair A. Rudes and Marianne Mithun, Ms. Patterson is now only one course away from completing her degree and returning to the classroom.

Language Planning

The Tuscarora Chiefs Council approved a proposal in 1995 to oversee a Tuscarora Language Committee composed of speakers and community members. The committee is the body charged with language planning.

Orthography Tuscaroras readily admit that the lack of an acceptable writing system has hampered efforts to teach the language. Prior to the 1990s there had been no systematic effort to develop a writing system for the language, although individual speakers each had their own way of writing the language.

In the past several years, the committee has made substantial progress in developing a standard orthography that is acceptable to a majority of the community. Basing their work on the phonemic transcription used in a two volume collection of Tuscarora oral history (Rudes & Crouse, 1987) and the dictionary that appeared in print this year (Rudes, 1999), the committee made two changes to make the orthography easier for learners. Specially, whereas voicing distinctions in obstruent stops are non-phonemic in Tuscarora, and only phonemic /t k č/ are used in the dictionary, the committee has chosen to write voiced allophones of /t/ as «d» and voiceless allophones as «t». Similarly, they have chosen to write voiced allophones of /č/ as «j» and voiceless allophones as «c». Interestingly, the have chosen to continue to write only «k» for voiced and voiceless allophones of this consonant.

Pedagogical Materials Another focus of the committee's efforts has been providing guidance in the development of teaching materials for the Tuscarora language. Most recently, the committee provided oversight and review on the development of a dictionary of the language (Rudes, 1999) and is providing similar assistance in the development of a reference grammar of the language, which is being prepared by Dr. Marianne Mithun.

The committee has also recognized that a critical element in the development of literacy is a transitional period while decisions are made about grammar, vocabulary and punctuation. During this transitional period the committee intends for the language be taught using materials and instructional techniques that mirror, to the extent it is possible within a Euro-American classroom framework, the traditional face-to-face oral approaches to using the language. To this end, the committee is planning the development of a "talking" dictionary, which will provide learners both with the sound and spelling of words, and an interactive CD-ROM-based language instruction series, modeled after a program developed for teaching the Mohawk language (Konatawakhon-Maracle, 1995). In addition, the committee is looking into involving fluent elders in developing curriculum to promote normal conversational use of the language and encourage functional, communicative skills in the children. Other committee goals include generating community awareness of the need to take immediate steps to prevent further language loss, promotion of visual implementation of the language throughout the Nation, and facilitating intergenerational involvement in language learning.

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BUILDING A CORPUS OF SPOKEN SYLHETI

Mabel Lie, Paul Baker, Tony McEnery & Mark Sebba
Dept. Linguistics and Modern English Language,
Lancaster University, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YT, UK
[mcenery@comp.lancs.ac.uk]

Abstract

This paper describes the construction of a corpus of spoken Sylheti. The corpus is constructed with the specific aim of examining difficulties in the construction of corpora of langues which are almost exclusively spoken, and in which features such as code switching are common. The paper also presents a transcription scheme for Sylheti based around the Roman alphabet.

Introduction

In recent years corpus data has played an increasingly central role in education (Wichmann, Fligelstone, McEnery & Knowles, 1997). From providing evidence for the construction of reference materials to being used as the basis for language teaching curriculums, corpus data is influencing language teaching. Though the use of corpus data was initially centred around the English language, in recent years an ever growing range of languages have been furnished with corpus data, to the point where corpora for most European languages exist. As corpus data has been provided for European languages, the use of corpora for educational purposes has grown beyond the English language (McEnery, Botley & Wilson 1999). In certain areas – especially English language dictionary publishing – it is probably now fair to say that it would be inconceivable that a major new dictionary would be produced that was not corpus based. Corpora have become the very touchstone of credibility for the production of such resources. Consequently, we are entering an era within which access to corpus data will determine whether state of the art reference resources for a language are available or not. Given that access to such resources is a vital component of education in general and language education in particular, this is a point that must be of importance in the area of endangered languages.

In this paper we will present the work of the MILLE[1] project which aims to investigate the feasibility of creating corpora in non-indigenous UK minority languages (NIMLs) by determining such factors as:

- the extent and availability of existing NIML data
- the needs of NIML-speaking communities
- methods of putting the data into machine readable, accessibleformat

As part of the project, we looked at the feasibility of collecting a corpus of spoken Sylheti, aiming to collect 40,000 words of spoken data. Our aim was to investigate issues in corpus collection rather than to build a viable corpus of Sylheti, hence the relatively modest size of the corpus. This paper describes the Sylheti language, the collection of the spoken corpus, the development of a Sylheti transcription scheme and the application of the Text Encoding Initiative guidelines to handle code-switching data.

The Sylheti language

Before describing the spoken corpus, it is useful to provide some background information about the Sylheti language and our motivation for using it to build a test corpus.

Sylheti is the language spoken by 95% of Bangladeshis living in the U.K. and is distinct from Bengali in terms of phonology and morphology (Chalmers 1996a:17-21). Though it shares some 80% of its vocabulary with Bengali, the rest is quite distinctive (ibid.). Standard Bengali can be perceived as being so different from Sylheti that it has been mistaken as "Pakistani" and speakers of varieties of Bengali can find Sylheti "hardly intelligible" (Chalmers 1996b:7). As a language, Sylheti has been under pressure for many years – it is not officially recognised as a language in Bangladesh and although Sylheti had been taught alongside Bengali in the Sylhet district, it was dropped in 1947 and replaced by Urdu in the curriculum. Dictionaries of Bengali do occasionally make reference to certain words as being specific to Sylheti, but there exists no comprehensive, modern dictionary of Sylheti. The script used to write Sylheti – Sylheti Nagri –has few users, and word processing in Sylheti Nagri is not available. Speakers of Sylheti can use Bengali script to represent Sylheti. However, increasingly, Sylhetis who have been brought up outside Bangladesh are unable to read and write Bengali unless they have attended classes where it has been taught.

With this situation outlined it should be clear why we decided to focus on spoken corpus resources for this language. Sources of written Sylheti that may be useful in corpus construction are close to non existent. Building a viable corpus of written Sylheti is simply not feasible. Spoken corpus data is of crucial importance to this language. The following section describes how we set about collecting such data.

Types of spoken data

Since Sylheti is the most widespread spoken language among Bangladeshis in the U.K. yet is rarely written, we decided to collect samples of the spoken language for transcription into a spoken corpus as an example of a UK NIML where gathering spoken corpus data is of primary importance. In doing so we had to consider a range of issues.

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[1] The Minority Lanuage Engineering Project, funded by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council.

The first issue we encountered was whether to try to collect data to represent the range of varieties of spoken Sylheti, or to simply focus on some nominal standard form of the language. Spratt & Spratt (1987) argue for gathering data from speakers of a standard form of Sylheti. Spratt & Spratt aimed to describe the phonology of Sylheti, yet the short comings in their analysis - which does not take into consideration variation in pronunciation by speakers of Sylheti – shows precisely why one would want to gather data from as wide a range of speakers as possible. Consequently we decided that we would not restrict data collection to speakers of a particular form of Sylheti.

The second issue was a practical one - how were we going to collect the data? One model available to us came from the British National Corpus project (Aston & Burnard, 1998). On that project volunteers carried around portable tape-recorders to record their speech and the speech of those they conversed with. They did this for a week. We tried this approach and discovered a great reluctance to undertake recordings in this way on the part of the volunteers. People they spoke to were often self conscious or refused to speak while the tape recorder was recording. In addition, even though the volunteers had been briefed in the use of the recording equipment, there were many technical hitches caused by the volunteers' unfamiliarity with it. A more feasible approach to data collection which was more acceptable to the volunteers and respondents was a combination of data collection from scripted sources, interviews and shorter, context focused, situations. This was a much more successful strategy. There were sources of scripted spoken Sylheti, such as drama and comedy tapes, available. The interviews were conducted by a member of the project team and we gathered data from contexts such as family talk in the living room of a home, conversations with customers in a sari shop and conversation after prayer in the mosque.

There were real advantages in the collection of scripted data, we found. Such data, although lacking the "authenticity" of spontaneous speech, generally has the advantage of being clearer both in terms of recording quality and sentence structure. Code switching is also minimised in such scripts[2]. Additionally, a great deal of what people hear (via radio and television) is scripted, so the inclusion of scripted speech is a fuller representation of the experiences of Sylheti speakers.

Similarly, the interview proved a useful technique. The traditional one-to-one interview method used to obtain unscripted speech from respondents has advantages for corpus building. As it was undertaken in a controlled setting, it yielded data that was more clearly articulated by the speakers and would produce clearer recordings than was the case with the recordings of everyday spontaneous speech. Overlaps, interference from surroundings and code-switching were effectively minimised in this way. As a consequence, our corpus contains a range of data which can be placed along a continuum between rehearsed speech to purely spontaneous speech. Users wanting data in which such items as disfluencies are not present can select data of the more rehearsed sort, while users interested in such features can select data from the purely spontaneous end of the spectrum. In terms of code switching, this is higher at the spontaneous end of the scale and lower at the scripted end

Table 1 below describes the sources of data used in the Sylheti spoken corpus.

Name	*Data Type*	*Word count*
Family 1	Naturally-occurring	1808
Sari Shop	Naturally-occurring	174
Questionnaire	Interview	1725
Class 2	Naturally-occurring	2143
Miscarriage	Scripted	5573
Breast-feeding	Scripted	5298
Comedy sketch	Scripted	2041

Table 1: Sources of data

Transliteration schemes for spoken Sylheti

Once the data had been collected, we were faced with the problem of transcribing the data. In deciding how to do this we reviewed a range of transliteration schemes for Indic languages. Following this, our next step was to carry out a transcription to generate machine readable texts of the data we had gathered. This section reviews existing transliteration schemes and describes the scheme that we eventually decided to employ.

Before we turn to the review, let us underline here the difference between transliteration and transcription. *Transliteration* means the representation in the more or less corresponding characters of a one alphabet or language in another. So in the case of the Roman transliteration of Sylheti, it means representing each Sylheti Nagri character with a corresponding Roman character (or group of letters) in a consistent way. *Transcription* differs from transliteration in that the former involves the representation of sounds in a spoken language by letters or characters. This can range from a very narrow phonetic transcription using IPA symbols to a broad phonemic transcription.

There are a number of transcription schemes available to a researcher transcribing spoken Indic languages. The "Standard Orientalist" transcription scheme, a system of transliteration from Indian scripts employing various phonetic symbols, is the most widespread and familiar for Indic languages but is by no means the easiest to use[3] (Masica, 1991). M.H. Klaiman (1990) uses this system to transcribe Bengali. In the "Virtual Bangladesh" website[4] a Roman transcription scheme is used without phonetic symbols, but this, as is the case with the Klaiman study, is used for Bengali and not for Sylheti as such. We decided no to undertake a phonetic transcription using such these schemes largely because work on Bengali would only prove a partial guide at best to the transcription of Sylheti as Sylheti is phonologically distinct from Bengali. Consequently we considered forms of transliteration.

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[2] Code switching will be simply described here as the process of switching from one language to another during the course of an interaction. Needless to say, this simple description disguises a host of situations, as will be examined later in this paper.

[3] See note Masica 1991: xv.

Orthographically transcribing the data in Sylheti Nagri was one option that we considered seriously. However, there were a range of problems with this solution. Sylheti Nagri is not currently supported for word processing even of the most basic sort and we did not have the resources to generate a font for Nagri. Even if we had, it is doubtful that this would have been the most practical solution. We want our corpus to be of use to a wide range of users in the UK – representing the data in Sylheti Nagri would have excluded a wide range of researchers. Given the parlous state of education using Sylheti Nagri, we would also have effectively excluded many members of the Sylheti speaking community from exploiting the resource should they wish to do so. Given that members of the Sylheti speaking community have been happy to use romanised versions of written Sylheti (Duff 1994:4) and that the teaching of Bengali and Sylheti to community workers, educators and health professionals has used Roman script, we decided to develop a transcription scheme based on the Roman alphabet.

Roman script has been used and advocated in systems of transliteration of Indic languages for some time (e.g. Firth and Chatterji, 1960: 304-15). For example, Konkani, a language of the Konkan coast between Bombay and Goa, and Kashmiri, have both employed the Roman script as a system of transliteration. The solution we eventually struck upon was to build a transliteration scheme which does not conform entirely to the definition of transliteration given above. In our scheme, each Roman character or group of characters is not used consistently to represent its corresponding Sylheti Nagri character. Rather each character represents not only the phonemes of the languages but its various realisations. These allophones or sub-phonemes in the spoken form can vary depending on its environment (cf. phonotactics) or regional and social variations in the language. Phonologically speaking, the variations can be systematic i.e. occurring in complementary distribution, or non-systematic i.e. in free variation. For example, the voiceless, lightly aspirated, velar plosive [k] occurs only next to a high vowel e.g. [kini], but elsewhere, the /k/ phoneme is realised as a voiceless, velar fricative [x] (Spratt & Spratt 1987:6). An example of allophones in free variation are [t] and the retroflex [T] in [kita] and [kiTa], both meaning 'what'.

From a sociolinguistic standpoint, differentrealisations of a phoneme may carry important social meaning. For example, [z] is absent in Bengali and it has been noted that some Sylhetis use [j] instead of [z] where they would otherwise use [z], in order to indicate that they are highly educated. It can be argued that if one is writing for an audience intending to learn the language, it makes sense to transliterate these different sub-phonemes or variants.

This is the approach taken by Chalmers (1996b). For example: /p/ is a Sylheti phoneme which has two allophones. One is a voiceless, lightly aspirated bilabial plosive occurring only in sequence with another /p/ word-medially, while the other which has a more widespread occurrence is a voiceless bilabial fricative, close to [f] (Spratt & Spratt 1987:5). There is no [f] in Bengali. Chalmers uses both 'p' and 'f'. Additionally, /z/ is a Sylheti phoneme which is realised as [j] only after a homorganic consonant or when doubled, otherwise it is a voiced, grooved, alveolar fricative [z] (Spratt & Spratt 1987:8). Again, Chalmers uses both 'j' and 'z' in his scheme. As Chalmers is writing for English speakers, the sub-phonemes are significant, and thus included, but would generally not be perceived by a (Sylheti) mother-tongue speaker .

In contrast, Gwynn's (1994) is more concerned with a clear understanding of Sylheti grammar, and in his transliteration scheme, one Roman symbol is used for one Sylheti phoneme, and there are no sub-phonemes. A third scheme by Spratt & Spratt (1987) focussed on a description of Sylheti phonology and includes word lists in phonetic script. Finally a scheme used to transcribe the gospel portions (*Hozrot Isar*) from the Scripture Gift Mission are intended for by Sylhetis who have grown up in Britain speaking Sylheti at home, educated in English and with a rudimentary knowledge of Bengali. Aspirates [kh], [gh], [th], [dh] and [bh] are included as well as [y], [w], [p] and [j] which are Bengali phonemes. This provides a close correspondence with Bengali transliteration and orthography for easier reference in a Bengali dictionary.

A broad phonemic transcription of Sylheti using the Roman alphabet

Having discussed the issues to be dealt with when devising a transcription of Spoken Sylheti, we now describe a transcription scheme, shown in table 2 below based on a broad phonemic transcription of spoken Sylheti. This scheme can, more or less straightforwardly, be mapped directly to Syhleti Nagri characters, and consequently forms the hybrid transliteration/transcription scheme we desired[5]. This scheme follows Gwynn's (1994) transliteration scheme which omits subphonemes and aspirates. The retroflex plosives in his scheme have been omitted for practical purposes. The descriptions of allophones and their distribution come from Spratt & Spratt (1987) and Chalmers (1996b).

Symbol	*Description with English & Sylheti Examples*
k	voiceless, lightly aspirated velar plosive occurring only next to a high vowel, i.e. [i] and [u]. Occurs as *k* in 'kick' with as little aspiration as possible

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[4] wysiwyg://16/http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/bd_trans.html,

[5] The lack of a Syhleti Nagri font means we cannot show this mapping neatly here.

	voiceless, velar fricative occurring elsewhere as the *ch* of Scottish 'loch'
g	voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive as *g* in 'get' with as little aspiration as possible
c	voiceless, alveo-palatal, grooved affricate occurring only after a homorganic consonant or when doubled as *ch* in 'church' voiceless, alveolar, grooved fricative occurring elsewhere as s in 'soon', never as the *s* in 'reason'
j	voiced, alveo-palatal, grooved affricate, occurring only after homorganic consonant or when doubled as *j* in 'jam' voiced, alveolar grooved fricative, occurring only elsewhere as *z* in 'zoo'
t	voiceless, lightly aspirated alveo-dental plosive pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the back of the teeth
d	voiced, unaspirated, alveo-dental plosive pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the back of the teeth
n	voiced, alveo-dental nasal as *n* in 'no'
f	voiceless, lightly aspirated bilabial plosive, occurring only in sequence with another /p/, word medial as *p* in 'pay' voiceless bilabial fricative, occurring elsewhere sometimes realised as voiceless labio-dental fricative, as *f* in 'for'
b	voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive, as *b* in 'boy'
m	voiced bilabial nasal, as *m* in 'make'
r	voiced, retroflexed continuant, as the *r* in Scottish English
l	voiced lateral continuant, as the *l* in 'lot', never as the *l* in 'pale'
s	Voiceless, alveo-palatal, grooved fricative, as *sh* in 'shop'
h	Voiceless semi-vowel, homorganic with following vowel as *h* in 'had'
ng	voiced, velar nasal as the *ng* in 'Bangladesh'
a	varies from the a in 'mat' (*ami*) to the *a* in 'art' (*ar*)
i	is occasionally short (in polysyllabic words) as the *i* in 'hit' (*findi*) but is generally long as the *ee* in 'meet'
u	varies from the *u* in 'butcher' (*kun*) to the *oo* in room (*nun*)
e	is occasionally short (in polysyllabic words) as the *e* in 'let' (*bela*) but is generally long as the *a* in 'late' (*rande*). It is never the silent e of so many English words like 'make'
o	varies from the short *o* in 'hot' (*gor*) to the long *o* of 'home' (*goro*)

Table 2: The Romanised transliteration scheme used in the Corpus of Spoken Sylheti.

The advantage of this scheme is that one Roman letter corresponds to one Sylheti phoneme (except for 'ng'). In order for this to be the case, Gwynn has opted for 'c' to correspond to [s] while 's' corresponds to [sh], removing the need to use 'sh'. This is because 'c' has allophones [s] and [c], and can logically be used for both: in English 'c' is sometimes pronounced [s] in words like "cease". The use of 'k' ameliorates the need for 'x' which is employed in Chalmers' scheme, and can be confused with its use in other systems of transliteration like Chinese pinyin where it is a sibilant.

There are interesting parallels between the allophones of 'c' and 'j' . The alveolar-palatal grooved affricatesonly occur when doubled or in combination with a homorganic consonant.

It is possible to make a distinction between retroflex and non-retroflex "r" but in our transliteration scheme, we opted for a retroflex "r" as described in Spratt & Spratt's scheme.

The uses of "y" and "w" have been rejected because they are Bengali semi-vowels written as the same letter in Bengali orthography. They are essential in Bengali which does not allow two vowels to be written together. Sylheti, however, does not have a letter corresponding to "w" or "y" but allows two or more vowels to be juxtaposed. Spratt & Spratt (1987) also argue for vowel sequences rather than vowel-consonant sequences. Vowel sequences like *auai* in *kau-a-in* (*is caused to be eaten*) may be difficult for the English reader who expects "w" or "y" to be used. Morpheme breaks indicated by hyphens may then be helpful.

Finally, aspirates are found in the Sylheti Nagri alphabet but have not been included in Spratt & Spratt's phonological description nor Chalmer's transliteration scheme (1996a: 33). Gwynn lists them in Sylheti Nagri but uses the same letter for both aspirated and unaspirated plosives and affricates. We have decided therefore not to include them.

The scheme we developed was robust – we transcribed our corpus using the scheme as outlined. As such, we believe it to be a viable scheme for the transcription of spoken Sylheti.

Mark-up of loanwords and code-switching

It should not be assumed that every word uttered in the Sylheti spoken corpus is clearly a word of the Sylheti language. There were numerous cases where English words were used, as well as items in Bengali and Arabic. This section describes the concept of loanwords and then gives details of the ways that the Text Encoding Initiative guidelines were employed in order to highlight that they were different from the rest of the text.

According to one widely accepted hierarchy of borrowing between languages, lexical material is the most easily borrowed (Romaine 1995: 64). This seems to be borne out in the Sylheti spoken texts so far examined. There are a large number of noun loanwords which can be explained partly because some texts were from the public domain and concerned with health promotion. This genre contains many terms specific to the British context for which no real Sylheti equivalent exists. They are in the category of "necessary loanwords" which fill lexical gaps which could not be easily filled by Sylheti words. These include words like "caesarean operation", "sterilise" etc. Others were of the category of "gratuitous borrowing" in which an existing word in Sylheti exists but the English word is used for one reason or another. Examples include "shop" and "husband".

In Singh, McEnery & Baker (forthcoming) we describe a mark-up system for the transcription of foreign data, using the sgml-based Text Encoding Initiative Guidelines (Sperberg-McQueen & Burnard: 1994). In marking up this corpus, we again used TEI, but this time brought in some ideas on the mark-up of code switching from the LIDES (Language Interaction Data Exchange) system (The LIPPS Group:1998) to guide us in using TEI to encode this corpus. Following are a series of issues we encountered in encoding our corpus, each with a TEI based solution.

Orthography

One question which arose was centred around the orthographic decisions to be made when transcribing Arabic, English or Bengali loanwords. English, Arabic and Bengali have their own individual transliteration schemes which are in turn different to our transcription scheme. One solution would be to transcribe everything with IPA symbols which was something we had decided not to do. The other alternative was to transcribe all of the languages using the Sylheti transliteration scheme which is a very broad and comparatively unconventional scheme. Also, it is ill suited to representing anything but Sylheti - there are sounds in these other languages that are not present in the phonological system of Sylheti. For example, the voiced fricative in the English word "television" is not present in the Sylheti system.

We decided to specify that the TEI element <foreign lang=ENG> would be able to exempt a piece of text from having to be follow the Sylheti transliteration scheme. The same would apply for <foreign lang=BEN> and <foreign lang=ARA>[6].

<distinct>

Once the orthographic question was resolved, with English spellings used for English loanwords marked <foreign lang=ENG>, we encountered a further problem in cases where the prosody of a word made it distinctively un-English sounding. The word "hormone" in the text had a distinctive rising intonation for example. There is an element called <distinct> which "identifies any word or phrase which is regarded as linguistically distinct, for example as archaic, dialectal, non-preferred, etc. or as forming part of a sublanguage". The <distinct> element can have several attributes such as type, time, space and social. We decided to use the following format:
<distinct lang=ENG type=intonation>hormone</distinct>

The advantage of this format is that it is not bound to a list of specific types. The TEI guidelines say that the values of "type" may be "a semi-open user-defined list" which means that we can define them ourselves. However, there will be ambiguities as what sounds "English" to one person, does not to another - depending on which part of the English-speaking world one comes from. We therefore used received pronunciation English as a standard.

<SYL-ENG>

Cases when the loanword is a mixture of Sylheti and English in terms other than prosody proved to be interesting to annotate. For such situations the mark-up would be <distinct lang=SYL-ENG> and the orthography then would be following the Sylheti transliteration scheme, thus:

<distinct lang=SYL-ENG type=pron>daktor</distinct>

In order for this word to be recognised without its English spelling, it is necessary for it to occur in the corresponding translated text. If for some reason it does not occur, then a <note> can added for clarity, e.g.

<u id=1 corresp=tra1 who=P>(Sylheti text)<distinct lang=SYL-ENG type=pron>sap</distinct></u>
<u id=tra1 who=P>(English translation)</u>
<note n=1>'sap' is a Sylheti pronunciation of the English word 'shop' but is not included in the translation.</note>

If there were large numbers of words in <SYL-ENG> which the Sylheti transcription system cannot handle, then there would be a need for a separate writing system declaration for the pronunciation of words that are <distinct lang=SYL-ENG>. We have not found the need to do this, however.

For practical purposes, it was decided that those words with <distinct type=pron> and <distinct type=morph> would automatically have <distinct lang=SYL-ENG> and not <distinct lang=ENG> because phonology and morphology are linguistic categories that mark out a word more distinctly as being English or not, whereas in the case of prosody, there are more grey areas. Where both phonology and morphology interact, the word is simply tagged <distinct lang=SYL-ENG>.

<distinct type=morphology>

Loanwords from English which have Sylheti morphemes attached to them are quite common. Morphemes used with nouns are shown in table 3 below.

Morpheme	Function
-or/-er	possessive case
-e	instrumental case
-o/-t	locative case
-re	object case
-(a)in	Plural
-ura	agent nouns
-ta	impersonal classifier
-gu	personal classifier

Table 3: Sylheti morphemes attaching to English roots.

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[6] For readers familiar with the TEI, an upshot of this decision is that we would want to include separate writing system declarations for each language and use Bengali, Arabic and English orthography in these delimited regions. At the moment we have short circuited this problem by using Roman transliteration in such regions.

Sometimes, the English pronunciation of the word is retained and the morpheme is attached just at the end[7]. At other times, the English word has a Sylheti pronunciation with a morpheme attached. The variations as to the English word "doctor" are a case in point:

1. <distinct lang=SYL-ENG>dakto-re</distinct>
2. <distinct lang=SYL-ENG>daktor-o</distinct>
3. <distinct lang=SYL-ENG>dakta-re</distinct>
4. <distinct lang=SYL-ENG type=morph>dokte-re</distinct>
5. <distinct lang=SYL-ENG type=pron>daktor</distinct>

While all examples are cases of English loanwords, the first three have a Sylheti pronunciation *and* morphology, and only need to be distinguished by lang=SYL-ENG. Example 4 has an English pronunciation with a Sylheti morpheme attached - so is distinguished by *type=morph*. Example 5 has no Sylheti morpheme, but does have a Sylheti pronunciation, and is therefore *type=pron*.

In cases where the English word has a Sylheti morpheme attached, it is classified as <distinct lang=SYL-ENG> and therefore would need to be transcribed with the Sylheti transcription, resulting in other transcription problems: Examples include:

<distinct lang=SYL-ENG type=morph>miskerec acociesen-re</distinct>

In this case, the English words "Miscarriage Association" are spoken with an English pronunciation but has been transcribed with the Sylheti transcription scheme, and the voiced affricate in "Miscarriage" has had to be replaced with a voiceless affricate.

<distinct lang=SYL-ENG>intafreta-re</distinct>

In this example, the word is pronounced with a Sylheti pronunciation and with a morpheme attached, and is transcribed with a Sylheti transcription. The English word is "interpreter".

<distinct lang=SYL-ENG>helt-uarka-re</distinct>

Again, there is no [w] in Sylheti, so it has been replaced with [u]. The English word in this case is "health worker".

Conclusion

Our goal in the construction of this corpus was to discover what the issues for a large scale attempt at constructing corpora of Indic languages would be. As such we feel our work has been successful. We have encountered issues such as code-switching and the development of transcription schemes not overly common in corpus building to date. Similarly, we found we had to develop a new model of spoken corpus collection to match what was possible with the community we were working with. We found solutions for all of the problems we encountered and we have clearly demonstrated that the construction of such a corpus is possible.

What is needed now is to move beyond this point, disseminating our experience to others studying 'minority' languages throughout the world, and to work towards building large scale corpora of languages such as Sylheti. Once that is done we can return to the point of departure for this paper – the exploitation of corpus data for educational purposes.

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[7] Where this occurs, we insert a hyphen between the root and the (typically affixed) morpheme.

Abstract

On the use of computers for preserving endangered languages

Vladimir Tourovski
Max Planck Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology
Inselstr. 22, D-04103 Leipzig, Germany
+49-341-9952-312 fax +49-341-9952-119
[tourovski@eva.mpg.de]

Indisputably, endangered communities should receive every possible social, economic and cultural help to preserve and promote their languages. In addition, the possibilities of using for this goal modern technologies, in the first place information processing and new electronic media, should also be explored.

There are at least three ways to use computers for preserving endangered languages (EL): for language documentation, language description, and language promotion. Specifically:

1. Language documentation.

As much raw data on any given EL as possible should be collected and stored, in the form of audio and video recordings. In digitized format this data is much less corruptible and perishable. It means collecting and storing in approppriate formats and by appropriate technical storage means multimodal electronic corpora, with audiovisual recordings of highest possible quality and in many linguistic registers (tales, conversations, etc.). In order to be more useful, such corpora archives should be provided with indexing, search and annotation tools. These tools should ideally be automatic, but at least comfortable and easy to use for linguists and other language workers.

2. Language description.

As full as possible linguistic descriptions of Els - lexica, grammars, variation studies, etc. - are necessary, and this as soon as possible. In order to facilitate linguists' work on such descriptions, language-independent software tools for descriptive linguistics should be implemented. Especially important for ELs is the constructive nature of such tools: a linguist should be able to check on correctness and completeness of his/hers description in the field, as filling up of gaps in the description later might be difficult to impossible. An example of such a tool could be morphological synthesis program, which realizes morphological model of a language (Mel'chuk, Course de Morphologie generale). The program would consist of input component, which allows to input grammatical categories, inflection classes, morphological means (affixes, etc.), morphophonemics, and morphological lexicon; and of generation component, which, using this information, would generate any given wordform or paradigm. Such program must necessarily be comfortable and easy to use; it would allow to check correctness and completeness of the description of inflection in the field.

3. Language promotion.

If electronic documentation and description of a given EL is even partially successful, it could be used to promote and enhance this community's language. For example, from implemented morphological models one can create spelling checkers, which would facilitate publishing in EL. From stored multimodal corpora one could make teaching tools, staying inside the EL culture. And even such profane programs like computer games, if they are localized in an EL and kids like them, could promote the use of this EL. Of course, such language promotion using electronic media is relevant for probably a small part of communities with EL - but it is relevant to some of them, for example for Inuktitut, where modern technologies are widely accessible (Elke Nowak, oral presentation).

Maybe this is a way to turn modern technologies, which are considered a threat to traditional cultures, from a curse to - at least a partial - blessing?

5

Ways and Means

The Whaka Piki Reo programme: in-service provision for teachers of Mäori language and teachers who teach through the medium of Mäori

Diane Johnson and Ani Rolleston
The University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand
[dianej@waikato.ac.nz; arollest@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

This paper reports on the design, administration and effectiveness of an in-service programme designed by the University of Waikato in New Zealand in partnership with the New Zealand Ministry of Education. The programme aims to: improve the language proficiency of teachers; assist with the interpretation and implementation of Mäori curriculum statements; address issues involved both in teaching Mäori and in teaching through the medium of Mäori; and assist with lesson planning, lesson delivery, materials development, and testing and assessment. Both Mäori and non-Mäori teachers may participate in the programme.

Introduction

The whaka piki reo programme is an in-service training course delivered at the University of Waikato in New Zealand under contract to the Ministry of Education. The course is available to teachers of Mäori language and also to those teaching curriculum areas through the medium of Mäori at both primary and secondary school levels. The course lasts 20 weeks and is delivered, as much as possible, in Mäori. At its core is the belief that a programme of this type should provide a culturally nurturing environment within which language enhancement can take place in conjunction with the improvement of theoretical understanding and methodological skills.

The Problem

In the New Zealand context, teachers of Mäori, and teachers who teach curriculum areas through the medium of Mäori, may have professional development needs that span both personal language proficiency development and teaching methodology. The main challenge, therefore, was to design a course that took account of both of these needs. A further dimension of the challenge was that potential course participants were full-time teachers in schools and would need to be replaced by other teachers with similar skills during their absence for training. In an environment where teachers of Mäori, and teachers who teach through the medium of Mäori, are hard to find, schools would inevitably be reluctant to release teachers for long periods of time. The course, therefore, needed to be both short and intensive and the advantages of releasing teachers to attend the course had to be clear to school managers. It was important that teachers should return to their schools at the end of the programme refreshed and keen to make improvements to their programmes. It was equally important, from our point of view, that these improvements should be evident to others, and so we encouraged returning teachers to offer staff development sessions within their schools. These sessions would provide an opportunity for others to explore some of the issues covered in the programme.

Programme design: finding a model

Internationally, the move away from the grammar-translation method of teaching languages has been characterised by an increased awareness that teachers need to be highly trained in order to carry out the complex range of tasks involved in their professional lives. In recent years, one aspect of applied linguistics research has been the creation and development of a range of models for language teacher training. Some examples of this development are to be found in the work of Britten (1985a & b), Duff (1988), Ellis (1990), Lange (1990), and Richards and Nunan (1990). Although the majority of these models relate particularly to the teaching of English, they are nevertheless representative of the approaches to language teacher training course design that are to be found throughout the world.

Cullen (1994), describes such teacher training courses (with particular reference to English language teacher training), as being composed of "a fairly predictable set of component parts" (p.162). In addition, he observes that:

> "...there may or may not be a language improvement component aimed at improving the general language proficiency of the trainees" (Cullen 1994, p.163).

Characteristically, language teacher training courses are predicated on the assumption that the trainees will either be first language speakers of the target language, or have a high level of proficiency in the language. Where this is not the case, the course tends to consist of either intensive language training at the expense of methodological considerations (Hundleby & Breet, 1988), or to include a language improvement component that focusses mainly on the vehicular language needed by teachers to give instructions and to manage their classroom in the target language. We were keen to ensure that our course provided opportunities to improve language proficiency at the same time as providing a coherent methodological component. We were also keen to ensure that whatever was discussed in class was explored in practice. Thus, the course participants would be involved directly in observed teaching practice, and would be encouraged to discuss, and reflect on, these teaching practice sessions.

We decided that one of the best ways to ensure that personal language development took place was to deliver the course, with the exception of a few visiting lectures, in the medium of Māori. This would represent a considerable challenge for some of the potential students. It would also represent a challenge for the trainers. It would, however, provide them with an opportunity to demonstrate effective teaching methods. The students would have direct, daily experience of the strategies that could be used to ensure that understanding was maintained, and language developed, even where language itself was not the primary focus of teaching sessions. They would thus gain a greater understanding of their students' problems and of the ways in which these problems could be addressed. They would also gain more understanding of the fact that all effective teaching, whatever the primary focus, and whether or not the students are second language learners, involves language development and extension. They would become increasingly aware that different domains require different types of language expertise, and that the development of a range of discourse strategies can be as important as vocabulary extension. This would be particularly important in the case of Māori for a specific reason. In developing approaches to teaching school subjects through the medium of Māori, educators have become increasingly aware of the need for subject-specific vocabulary. Developing that vocabulary, teaching it to students, and ensuring that it is used consistently, has involved major effort by a number of different agencies, including, in particular, the Māori language Commission. However, there has not been equivalent emphasis on the need to develop discourse strategies. It is not enough simply to have the ability to use the vocabulary and syntax required, for example, to write an assignment on a science topic; it is important also to understand how the work can be structured, and how the ideas can be linked to create a coherent whole.

The team that originally developed the whaka piki reo programme was made up of both Māori and non-Māori linguists, applied linguists and teacher trainers. In the academic environment in which all the team members worked, a number of different teacher training models was already available. Students training to become specialist teachers of French, German, Japanese, Chinese and English language could select from these models. One of these models, the Cambridge/RSA CELTA (Cambridge Royal Society of Arts Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults) was identified by the team as having the potential to provide the basis for the sort of course they were attempting to create. However, that model had been developed largely with adult learners in mind, and related to the teaching of a target language rather than to the teaching of subject areas through the medium of a target language. It was, therefore, important to examine the model carefully and to consider how it could be further developed. In this respect, we were very fortunate in having the assistance of Lynette Murphy O'Dwyer of the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, the group responsible at that time for maintaining and developing the CELTA course, ensuring that its high standards are maintained world-wide, and that issues of cultural diversity are adequately addressed. Because she also had oversight of the development of a programme designed more specifically for young learners, we were able to take advantage of the research that had gone into the development of that programme.

The Advantages of the Cambridge/RSA CELTA model

The Cambridge/RSA CELTA is a pre-service course designed for adults requiring initial training in teaching English as a second language. It is delivered in a variety of modes. It can, for example, be offered as a one month, full-time intensive course, or it can be offered as a part-time course over three months or longer. The syllabus on which the course is based contains a broad range of methodological, theoretical and linguistic components, and also takes into account issues of planning and classroom management. There is, in all cases, a rigorous, observed teaching practice component. This means that every aspect of the theoretical knowledge gained during training is applied immediately by the trainees in the context of genuine classroom settings. It is this aspect of the Cambridge/RSA CELTA that the designers of the whaka piki reo programme believed could be crucial to their success.

There was also another aspect of the Cambridge/RSA CELTA programme that the whaka piki reo development group believed to be significant. This was the emphasis on personal and group reflection on lesson effectiveness. It was believed that this would be important in helping trainees to become autonomous learners who would continue to develop once they returned to their own classrooms.

In addition to the advantages of drawing on a model that was already highly developed and internationally successful, there was the advantage that could be gained from interaction with a team of teacher trainers who had experience of implementing a range of models, including the Cambridge/RSA CELTA. The Māori trainers would, therefore, be part of an established professional group all of whose members were convinced of the importance of supporting one another personally and professionally and all of whom were committed to language maintenance and development.

Another advantage related to resources. The resources in place to support the delivery of the CELTA (including a computer laboratory and a picture library) would also be available to the trainees on the whaka piki reo programme. Although most of the books in the library itself related to the teaching of languages other than Mäori, many of them contained material that could be applied with equal success to Mäori. This provided an interim resource while the whaka piki reo trainers and students collected and designed materials for a Mäori resource room.

The Disadvantages of the Cambridge/ RSA CELTA

In spite of the large number of advantages to be drawn from association with the Cambridge/RSA CELTA model, there were some issues that still needed to be addressed in relation to that model. There were three main areas of concern. First, the CELTA is designed for first language speakers. It focuses, therefore, on language awareness rather than on language proficiency development. Secondly, the CELTA is designed to address the teaching of language only; it does not specifically address the issues involved in teaching curriculum areas through the medium of a second language. Thirdly, its emphasis on English meant that there would be a need for considerable development before it could be applied to a linguistic and cultural context that was very different. It was crucial that Mäori play a central role in all developments of the programme so that the Mäori trainers had a genuine sense of ownership of both the process and the outcome.

Unusual Aspects of the Programme

The development of the whaka piki reo programme was the result of a collaborative and consultative process between Mäori and non-Mäori academics and teacher trainers, between these trainers and the Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate, and between the New Zealand Ministry of Education and the institution that was to deliver the programme. The implementation of the programme was also the result of a collaborative and consultative process. The extent of that collaboration and consultation was unusual. What was also unusual was the fact that teachers would be released from their duties for a considerable period of time without being expected to take responsibility for the preparation of work plans for their classes during their absence. The fact that these trainees could look forward to a period of unburdened focus on development seems to have been an important factor in the ultimate success of the programme, success that is indicated by the responses of the trainees to programme evaluation questionnaires, by the fact that schools have continued to release teachers to attend the programme, and by the fact that the Ministry of Education has continued to support it financially.

Another important factor in the programme's success appears to be the fact that candidates are subject to a rigorous selection process, a process that puts as much emphasis on commitment and motivation as it does on prior qualifications. To be accepted for a place on the programme, teachers make application to the training team in response to notices in the *New Zealand Education Gazette*, the bi-monthly publication of the Ministry of Education. They are interviewed in Mäori by a selection panel and they sit a pre-course proficiency test, a test that they sit again at the end of the course. This test, the first of its kind in New Zealand, was developed by a Mäori academic, Katarina Edmonds, in consultation with academics and teacher educators who had experience in developing proficiency tests for other languages. Pre- and post-programme testing provided a measure by which students, trainers and the Ministry could evaluate one aspect of the programme's effectiveness, its effectiveness in increasing the Mäori language proficiency of the trainees.

In connection with this, it is worth bearing in mind that both Murdoch (1994) and Cullen (1994) have reported that what second language learners value most in any pre- and in-service training programme is the opportunity to improve their own language proficiency. Furthermore, Lange (1990) argues that the most important aspect of a language teacher's competence is his or her own proficiency in the language. This observation may be particularly relevant in contexts, such as the New Zealand school context, where the communicative movement in language teaching and learning has had a significant effect. As Mitchell observes, communicative language teaching, with its emphasis on realistic classroom practices, places a considerable burden on teachers who are themselves second language learners and who may have to solve unpredictable communication problems from moment to moment (Mitchell, 1988).

The Training Process

Teacher training is a high risk activity. Trainers must be vigilant in preserving the delicate balance between encouraging the trainees, providing them with an appropriate level of theoretical and practical input, and offering clear and unbiased critical analysis of teaching performance. Trainees are exposed when they teach: the process of reflecting on, and discussing, the effectiveness of teaching segments can have a negative wash back effect if not handled with sensitivity. In the case of the whaka piki reo trainees, there are added factors that make the process even more complex. Because they are already practising teachers, these trainees open their professional lives to criticism each time they teach. In terms of culturally appropriate behaviour, it is difficult for women to offer criticism to men, and for young people to be seen to be criticising their elders. These are issues that have resolved themselves gradually as the experience of the trainers has grown.

The training process offered by the whaka piki reo programme is intensive, rigorous and demanding on both trainees and trainers. Course participants are in class from 8.30 each morning and are engaged in the learning process until the end of the feedback session on teaching practice at 4.30 in the afternoon. They are then expected to do teaching practice preparation (often involving materials development) for the following day, and to complete major assignments throughout the course. They are also involved in research into aspects of Māori language. This research contributes both to improvement of their performance in the classroom and to their overall understanding and control of the language. Every aspect of the course is evaluated: the overall grading of students is a reflection not only of outcomes, but also of the processes that have led to the achievement of these outcomes.

The whaka piki reo trainers believe that they should themselves reflect best practice in their delivery of the programme. Their teaching approach is varied, they present a range of teaching strategies, and they are prepared to provide practical, classroom-based demonstrations of techniques and teaching styles. The trainees are not given lectures, but are engaged in a participatory process where opportunities to use the language are optimised, and where cooperation, inclusiveness, and a sense of group responsibility in line with culturally acceptable behaviour, are fostered.

Growth and Evolution

A training model should never be allowed to dictate everything that takes place within a programme. In particular, there should be room for adaptation to accommodate culturally appropriate practices. In this programme, cultural awareness is always regarded as crucial. There is an impressive amount of transference of cultural knowledge in the music and dance that make up part of each day's activities, in the adherence to protocols of welcome and farewell, and in the courtesies involved in the formal and informal sharing of food and drink that are so central to traditional Māori lifestyle.

In the four years since its first delivery, the whaka piki reo programme has undergone considerable growth and evolution, due, in part to on-going reevaluation of the programme itself. There have also been other reasons for change. Inevitably, there have been alterations to staffing. There have, too, been changes in the trainee profile. It is the last of these that has been the most significant. In the initial stages of the programme, considerably more of the trainees had a high level of language proficiency. This meant that the establishment of a Māori language domain within the boundaries of the course was a natural and normal process which needed no real monitoring or control. The most recent intake of students shows a quite different profile, with the majority being second language speakers with a relatively low level of proficiency. These students will find it extremely difficult to speak Māori all day, every day, to process new information delivered through the medium of Māori, to teach lessons in Māori themselves. Trainers will, therefore, need to be conscious of the need to insist, in a non-threatening, but determined way, that the Māori language domain be preserved. Otherwise, the proficiency gains that have been achieved in the past may not be achieved in the future.

The whaka piki reo programme has now been delivered in various locations in New Zealand. Its graduates now work in primary and secondary schools throughout the country and continue to be enthusiastic about the training they received. Although the Ministry of Education seems prepared to continue to support the work, it is possible that it will be absorbed into mainstream University offerings and that it will be developed into a full year Diploma course. It is unlikely that this could have been contemplated in the absence of the type of support that the programme was given in its early development stages.

Conclusion

The establishment of an in-service teacher training programme for an endangered language has not been without its problems. These problems that should not be forgotten in the euphoria of the gains that have been made.

The project began collaboratively. As it has developed, and as some of those initially involved have moved on or become interested in other projects, the trainers have become increasingly isolated from their colleagues, both physically (they now have their own buildings) and professionally (they are no longer part of a larger group of teacher trainers). From a positive point of view, this signals the fact that the programme can operate independently. However, all teacher trainers can benefit from one another's expertise and experience and it would be unfortunate if the further growth and development of this programme were inhibited by its comparative isolation. One possible solution to this is to encourage further teacher education developments within the School (the School of Māori and Pacific Development) in which the whaka piki reo programme is now located. This would mean that the whaka piki reo trainers could share their skills with other trainers, and could benefit from a wider trainer resource base.

There are other problems. There is, for example, still no good, user-friendly pedagogic grammar of Māori, and so it is much more difficult for teachers and teacher trainers to create lessons that are language and discourse-centred. None of the textbooks available to young learners of Māori is truly communicative in orientation, and so teachers need to make many more adaptations than would otherwise be necessary. There are few modern authentic text sources. For example, it is almost impossible to find a contemporary advertisement in Mäori suitable for use in the classroom. The result is that teachers are over-worked and under constant pressure. No amount of training opportunities can resolve this problem unless there are parallel developments in related areas. What is required is strategic planning that takes into account the immediate and longer-term needs of teachers and students. There is a need to agree on priorities and to ensure that that agreement is reflected in practice. A recent review of tertiary education in New Zealand indicated that, in future, priority would be given to theoretical research. In a small country, with limited resources, applied research that is tailored to the specific needs of the community should, we believe, be given top priority.

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We should like to record here our thanks to the New Zealand Ministry of Education for supporting the whaka piki reo programme, and to the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate and the Mäori Language Commission for assistance and advice. We should also like to acknowledge the important role played in its early development by Winifred Crombie, Katarina Edmonds, Waldo Houia and Brian Paltridge, and in its later delivery by Rauhina Cooper, John Moorfield, Kui Morrell, Rita Powick, Merepeka Teka and Hine Kahukura Te Kanawa.

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Abstract

The Ju/'hoan way of Making School: textbook production for learners by student teachers.

Experiences from an indigenous language and education project in "Bushmanland", North-Eastern Namibia.

Joachim F. Pfaffe
Postfach 510424, D-13364 Berlin, Germany
Phone +49-30-91742380, Fax +49-30-91742381
[JPfaffe@t-online.de]

The issue of literacy and schooling must be seen within the broader context of human rights and self-development. Within the framework of "Endangered Languages and Education", the main objective will be to achieve empowerment with dignity.

In order to reach such a goal, any form of handout must be regarded as detrimental to the overall philosophy of creating self-sufficiency for the target group. It has to be borne in mind that dependency has to be overcome and not to be consolidated, and that self-reliance can only be accomplished by active community involvement. Therefore, the communities' input and participation was essential for the Namibian "Village Schools Project".

In view of such an approach, this language and education project intended to assist with the development of a common strategy on grounds of a deeper analysis of community-oriented ideas and concepts, focussing on community-oriented expectations towards schooling by means of community research. This also initiated self-reflective processes which in return also contributed towards a change of the communities' expectations, i.e. from a mere consumer-oriented attitude to a more co-operative oriented approach. The provision of community-based training eventually led to self-employment and the creation of jobs, thus facilitating an increasing level of community self-reliance.

The development of language and education programmes needs to be rooted in the context of the community in order to constitute a dynamic and interdependent process. Projects need to pledge not to approach the communities with just another westernized and pre-fabricated model of thinking, that will after all remain irrelevant for the extraordinary context of marginalized peoples.

The exchange and dialogue between student teachers, learners, communities and project facilitators were essential for the Village Schools Project. Strong emphasis was put on the acquisition of skills to conduct community-based research and materials collection. While curricula translate the communities' input into educational practice, the foundation will always have to be the community and the materials deriving from it.

In view of the facilitation of such a development, the author has published a series of modules on teacher education that are based on the dynamic processes within the teacher training group. Therefore, the applied methodology could be useful for any other community-based and mother-tongue oriented teacher training project, in order to uplift the educational status quo for all those previously deprived of their right to education.

Literacy and mathematics primers in Ju/'hoan language for use in the first three years of primary schools can be made available for inspection at the conference.

A ten-minute video (produced by Namibia national TV) is also available.

Abstract

Challenges and opportunities for Slovenian language in the globalized educational arena

Bojan Petek
University of Ljubljana, FNSE, Snezniska 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
[Bojan.Petek@Uni-Lj.si]

One of the recent very active developments in higher education across Europe is the intensified collaboration between universities under the Socrates programme umbrella. Several Thematic Network Projects (TNPs) were initiated that consider intersections of language, education, and Human Language Technologies. They aim to address the impact of globalization in higher education that is brought by rapid advances in information technology. One of the important goals in joint curriculum development is also to integrate several traditionally separated yet related disciplines, and to include telematic teaching and learning materials. In many TNPs have such activities have now become truly pan-European. This paper presents a critical overview of experience gained in the curriculum development within the TNP 'Speech Communication Sciences' from the perspective of Slovenian language.

A critical mass of knowledge and tradition are clear advantages of joint work within the TNP: therefore, this brings a rainbow of opportunities for a faster pace of desirable and needed developments inside the Slovenian language as well. In particular, insights into the outline and syllabus of core curricula at various centers of excellence in teaching and research represent invaluable guidelines for our native curriculum development efforts.

On the other hand, such challenges as Multilinguality arise from such collaboration , and should be addressed very carefully. Another aim of this paper is therefore to critically elaborate on these issues and to present a vision of the expected synergy between the Slovenian and the major language community education in Speech Communication Sciences in the context of forthcoming globalized educational arena.

6

The Rôle of Standard Dialects

Disruption of Language Transmission among Basque Dialects

Agurtzane Elordui

University of The Basque Country

Abstract

This work focuses on the factors that are nowadays contributing to the receding use of Basque and the disruption of the transmission of this language. In particular, I analyse the death processes of some disappearing Basque dialects, i.e., the Northwest and Southwest Biscayan dialects. The natural transmission network in these Basque dialects was interrupted since second half of this century. Likewise, the current improved social and political situation of the Basque language is not helping in the revival of their use and transmission. Two main factors are nowadays stopping the revival of these dialects: first, the linguistic generation gap and, secondly, the fact that in the school the vernacular dialect does not receive the necessary attention. The linguistic generation gap makes impossible for family members to have a natural use of the language at home and obstructs the existence of a natural transmission process. The fact that children do not acquire in the school the least knowledge of the vernacular dialect diminishes the chances of common communication between the oldest and youngest generations. In addition, this lack of communication between generations encourages speakers in the belief that the Standard Basque is an artificial language and also it makes children think that Basque is another second language that is used only in school, like English or French. All these factors favour not only the loss of the dialect but also the breakdown of Basque communication and transmission in general.

Introduction

The Basque language is spoken in the seven historical Basque Provinces on both sides of the Pyrenees, that is, in the provinces of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, Alava, Navarre, Labourd, Low Navarre and Soule[1]. However, language use in these provinces is not homogeneous. Nearly half of the Basque speakers are found in the province of Gipuzkoa, and in Navarre and Alava the loss of Basque took place mostly in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the province of Biscay, the westernmost province of the Basque Country, which received a great number of immigrants during the last two centuries, Spanish monolinguals represent the majority. Only 17, 5 % of the population speaks Basque and in some industrial areas of this province the Basque language is gradually disappearing and being substituted for Spanish in most social domains. To illustrate the current situation of these disappearing dialects of Basque, I will concentrate on the case of two of them: the Southwest and Northwest Biscayan dialects.

First, I will provide you with a brief outline of the socio-historical setting of Basque in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country[2], in order to place the mentioned dialects within the general context of the Basque language. The outline will include, the historical factors favouring the decrease in the language use of Basque and the current situation of normalisation and standardisation processes. Secondly, I will concentrate on some sociolinguistic aspects of the Southwest and Northwest Biscayan dialects, in order to show the particularities of these dying dialects. I will emphasise the new sociolinguistic factors affecting language loss, the speakers' attitude to the Basque language, the communication networks among different groups of speakers and the Spanish-Basque language allocation in these communities. Finally, I will conclude by showing the way these factors favour the breakdown of Basque communication in general.

Basque in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country: an outline of the socio-historical setting

The negative and positive values attached by Basque speakers to Basque and to Spanish, as well as the political, economic, social and cultural factors which influence these values, seem to be the key variables in the use and transmission of Basque. The reduction in the use of Basque in the last centuries has been quite significant. However, it seems evident that the political, economic and cultural subordination of this language in the last decades —in particular during the Franco's dictatorship— has had an undeniable importance in order to explain the disappearing process of some Basque dialects.

We must distinguish, at least, two different periods on the last six decades history of the Basque Country: first, the forty years of Franco's dictatorship from 1936 to 1976 and, secondly, the democratic period since the first Spanish democratic elections in 1977. The factors promoting the loss of the Basque language in these two periods are quite different but they are completely interrelated. In fact, nowadays, more than 20 years after the end of the dictatorship, many factors that favour the decrease in the use of Basque are consequences of the political, economic and cultural subordination this language suffered under the dictator's rule.

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[1] . The Basque Country's population is 2.900.000 people and, according to the published statistical data of the Basque Government and Navarre Government, the number of people able to express themselves fluently in Basque is estimated to be around 660.000, while a further 455.000 have some knowledge of the language but not a good command of it.

[2] Since 1980 the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa and Biscay have constituted the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (called *Euskadi*), whereas Navarre forms its own Autonomous Community. On the other side of the Pyrenees, Labourd and Low Navarre have been integrated into the Arrondissement of Bayonne since 1926, whereas Soule was separated from the former, being included in the Arrondissement of Oloron (Béarn).

According to the testimonies of the Basque speakers of the analysed communities[3], political subordination and, in particular, the repression and prohibition to speak Basque in any public setting during the time Franco was in power was one of the main reasons for them to stop using the Basque language. See the testimonies in (1) and (2):

a.

1. "Euskera egundo ez dabe galazo egiterik gerra eldu arte, Francoren denporan, gerra denporan eta gerra ostien ez eben euskara egiterik itzi egiten eta alako jendiek gaur bez (...) ez ebelako gure euskaldunik, erdaldunak baino (...)"

"They never prohibited Basque until the war, during Franco's time, during the war and after it they forbid speaking Basque and they are the same ones who don't care for Basque people, they only care for those who don't speak Basque (...)"

2. "(...) todo por la represión, todo era amenazador. Entonces los padres tenían tanto miedo que nunca te hablaban. Les metían a la cárcel, les cortaban el pelo. No, no la gente tenía mucho miedo y en la calle en euskera ni palabra (...)"

"(...) all that because of repression, everything was very threatening. The parents were so afraid that they never spoke to you in Basque. They put them in jail; they shaved their heads. No, people were very afraid to speak Basque. Speaking in public? Not even a word!"

The school was an especially important institution in terms of its role in the formation of a negative Basque identity. The history of educational policy toward Basque in Franco's time is characterised by an extreme hostility to Basque. The educators of the dictatorship wished to root out this language. Generations of Basque-speaking children suffered both physically and psychologically on their entrance into an exclusively Spanish-language school system. The Basque language was strictly forbidden in school and Basque children suffered physical punishment and humiliations for speaking Basque or for not speaking good Spanish. See the testimonies in (3) and (4):

3. "(...) berriz joan nintzen eskolara baina orduen euskaldunei egiten euskuen burle, esaten euskuen 'aaa aldianas' eta eukin gendun maistra bat oso frankista, oso okerra (...) berak ez euskun itxiten euskaraz uzenak esaten, danak erderaz (...)"

"(...) again I went back to school but then they mocked Basque-speaking people, they called us 'village women' and we had a teacher very pro-Franco, very mean (...) she didn't allow us to say words in Basque, only in Spanish (...)"

4. *"(...) yo aprendí euskera en Aulestia, aquí no, aquí de hablar euskera nada. Además el que hablaba en la escuela, una palabra, le castigaban contra la pared (...)"*

"(...) I learned Basque in Aulestia, not here, speaking Basque here? Don't even think about it. Besides, whoever spoke a word in Basque at school they put him against the wall (...)"

Basque and Spanish have been perceived as opposite languages, rather than being viewed as two alternative languages for varying situations. On a political level, Spanish has been endowed with the status of 'national' language of Spain —'one and united' in Franco's terms—. For many decades— and also nowadays in many Basque and Spanish political sectors— Basque and other non-Spanish languages of the Spanish State are tolerated to the extent that they remain 'regional' languages. But, on the other hand, they are viewed by Spanish nationalist as potential threats to the unity of Spain since cultural distinctiveness can encourage a sense of cultural independence.

Besides the political repression, in the speakers' opinions economic subordination was another decisive factor promoting the choice of Spanish to the detriment of Basque. After the Civil war the actual Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and, in particular, the province of Biscay underwent a rapid process of industrialisation. People from rural areas gave up the agricultural activity and started working in industrial factories. This new form of economic exploitation dispersed the Basque speaking population and wholly transformed the social, economic as well as the sociolinguistic scene. With the immigration from non-speaking areas of Spain, Basque quickly passed from the status of majority language to that of minority language. For instance, a town of Southwest Biscayan dialect like Basauri with very few inhabitants before the Civil War became a town of 60.000 people in fewer than 20 years. The new inhabitants were mainly from non Basque-speaking areas of Spain.

The industrialisation also brought with it the desculturisation of rural life and the abandonment of Basque, which was considered a rural language (see similar cases with Nahuatl (Hill & Hill, 1986) and Breton (Kuter, 1989)). Learning Spanish, a language totally linked to the new industrial activity, turned out to be one of the main goals of the new industrial workers. Also the idea of Basque as an old tool no longer useful in a world where power depended on a good knowledge of Spanish was extended, reinforcing in that way the negative views about Basque.

In rural areas, like the area where the Northwest Biscayan dialect is spoken, the repression and prohibition to speak Basque was not as conclusive as in urban areas. However the negative and positive political and economic values attached to Spanish and Basque by Basque speakers are also the key variables in the use and transmission of Basque in these areas. The political symbolism of Spanish as the language of civilisation, progress and the future, as opposed to the symbolism of Basque still linked to the idea of a language of the past and rural life, reinforced the feeling of shame in being a Basque speaker. In fact, in a world where social and cultural institutions were controlled and dominated by Spanish speakers, lack of fluency in Spanish was considered a serious handicap to find a good job and that meant stigmatising Basque speakers as less intelligent beings.

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[3] The data in which this analysis is based on was collected during a two-year period of fieldwork (1993 and 1994) in the Southwest and Northwest of Biscay. I used a set of stimuli questions in order to collect the speakers' opinion about the factors promoting the breakdown of Basque communication and also to analyse their attitude towards Basque. Also informal conversations among various members of the speech community about the same topics were recorded to check out speakers' opinions in a group with the answers to the individual stimuli questions.

I want to point out the fact that Basque, until recent times, has never been a socially and culturally prestigious language. During many years it has been relegated to rural areas and fishermen communities. Only few intellectuals, most of them clergy, cared about the language and cultivated it. Most of the Basque speakers were not literate in this language. Basque was an oral instrument in their community but they used Spanish when writing.

From the new cultural context derived from industrial society, emerged the idea of Basque as a familiar language identified with the past and peasant agriculture. It was also viewed as regional, powerless and non-useful language that could not be adapted —not even his grammar could be adapted— to the needs of the new society and could fit only backward peasants. However, Spanish was admired, associated with the state and with prestige. It was the language of the future, the language of civilisation and education.

The increase of nationalism after the death of Franco contributed to the creation of a linguistic consciousness among Basque people, since the language from the beginning was a very important part of the nationalist discourse. Certainly, the general attitude towards Basque from every level of society is much better in the last three decades than during Franco's dictatorship. Speaking Basque is no longer viewed as a marker of backwardness. For many young Basques learning Basque is a way to show one's pride in being Basque. For instance, young people from industrial areas, after the 60's led the most important movement ever known in the history of the Basque Country in favour of the revitalisation of Basque. Also older native speakers, who had a negative experience as Basque speakers, are now surprised by the positive attitudes of young people, and also flattered by their new prestige as masters of 'authentic' Basque.

Moreover, nowadays the Basque Country and, in particular, the Basque Autonomous Community, has a significant degree of political autonomy for school organisation and language planning in general. From the 60's with the foundation of an educational system in Basque known as the *ikastola* that later on started functioning in tandem with the official educational system, Basque was introduced into the educational system. This fact together with a literary boom that took place in the 60's demanded the urgent elaboration of a model of standard Basque. This model, known as *euskara batua* or Unified Basque was finally presented in 1968 under the auspices of the Academy of the Basque language. It is now the Basque variety used in any official institution of the Autonomy of the Basque Country and also in mass media.

The North-western and South-western Biscayan dialects in Sociolinguistic Perspective

Nowadays the positive attitudes of Basque people towards their language and the language-planning program of the Basque Autonomous Community are certainly helping to establish Basque as a language for education and are also promoting its use in different sets of social activity. Nevertheless, as I stated above, in some areas of the Basque Country, after years of prohibition and lack of prestige, Basque has almost disappeared and has been substituted for Spanish in most social domains.

That is the case of the communities I am analysing here. In fact, the linguistic communities of Northwest and Southwest Biscay offer a good ground to study language loss. We can find many socio-economic differences among these communities. The Southwest Biscayan dialect is spoken in an industrial area near Bilbao, while the Northwest Biscayan dialect is the dialect of a rural area located in the Coast of Biscay. However, according to the use of Basque, they have many features in common: the use of Basque in both communities has been decreasing rapidly in the last four decades and the acquisition of the language by the youngest segments of the population has ceased. The latest generations are not acquiring the Basque language from their parents. In the best cases, small children now are acquiring the Standard Basque in the school (Elordui, 1995b).

Moreover, I have observed the 'semi-speaker' or 'terminal' speaker phenomenon in the two analysed communities, as it often happens in other well known language gradual death processes, like the case of Sutherland Gaelic (cf. Dorian, 1973; 1977; 1981) and Dyirbal (Schmidt, 1985) for instance. Both the Southwest Biscayan dialect and the Northwest Biscayan dialect have few speakers that are habitual users of Basque. In both communities the majority of the Basque speakers can be considered semi-speakers or terminal speakers, that is, speakers who speak Spanish in their everyday life and reserve the use of Basque for interaction with a few highly specific individuals and in a few restricted settings (Elordui, 1995ac;1999ab).

Basque Communication Network

The generations of Basque people who suffered political and cultural repression in Franco's time did not, in all cases, give up their Basque identity. Specially in rural areas, like the area of Northwest Biscayan dialect, where the political repression was much less intense than in urban areas, some older Basque speakers maintained the Basque language and used it with older members of the community or also among people of their own generation. Nevertheless, these people contributed greatly to the loss of Basque identity in their children by blocking transmission of the Basque language. They held a firm belief that Spanish was the language of the future and Basque the language of the past. They thought that it was better for their children to learn proper Spanish and to forget Basque. When Basque parents of Barrika (a town of the Northwest Biscayan dialect) that now are in their 80's, 70's or 60's are asked about their reasons for not transmitting Basque as a primary language to their children, they answer that in their youth to speak Basque was not well viewed and they were considered inferior for speaking Basque. It came to a point when it was no longer considered necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low prestige language. They thought that Spanish prepared the children for school and that the knowledge of Basque would obstruct their children educational process. Moreover, the children themselves –people that nowadays are in their 50's, 40's and even 30's– were no longer motivated to acquire active competence in Basque, a language that was lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills and education.

This attitude has had significant consequences in the communication network of these dialects and in the Basque language in general. First, as a consequence of this language transmission interruption, nowadays in many Basque families there is a *linguistic generation gap*. The intermediate generations do not speak Basque or their knowledge of the language is very limited. Families constituted by Basque speaking grandparents, Spanish monolingual parents and Standard Basque speaking grandchildren or *new speakers* with a passive knowledge of the local dialect is very common in the analysed communities.

This circumstance makes it difficult for these families to have normal transmission and use of the language at home. In particular, the communication in Basque between Basque speaking grandparents and Standard Basque speaking grandchildren in these communities is quite complex. The *new speakers* have mostly horizontal communication; that is, they use Basque among people of their same group and have no vertical communication with the older generations. Both the ones whose parents are Spanish monolinguals and the ones whose parents are speakers of these dialects have no vertical communication with the older generation.

New factors

There are some forces at work in the community that are conducive to this breakdown of communication in Basque. In some cases *the prestige of the Standard Basque* appears to limit vertical communication between old speakers and new-speakers, affecting in this case the old generation who feel that their dialect is not good enough to be spoken and transmitted. Old speakers feel that the genuine Basque has disappeared. They say that now the language they speak is no longer pure, but is 'txapurriau' (topsy-turvy) and 'castellano-euskera' (Spanish Basque mixed language) with too many words from Spanish. This is probably the most common feeling about their language among speakers, and comes up in any conversation about language attitudes. Most of speakers emphases that the Basque used by their parents was the real Basque (see 5) and some of then considerate the Standard Basque better than their dialect (see 6 and 7):

5. *Nire aitek eta amak, orrek egiten eben euskeraz ondo (…) gu azi gara erdaldunen artien eta oin ez batera ez bestera, gurie da txaparriau bat(…)*

"My father and mother used to speak very good Basque. We are now among Spanish speakers and now we speak neither good Spanish nor Basque, ours is a topsy-turvy (…)"

6. *"oraingo euskera da politago gurie baino (…) gurie da berba asko rdi erdera erdi euskara, oraingoa euskera konpletuagoa da"*

" the Basque of today is more beautiful (…), our Basque is half Spanish half Basque, the Basque of today is more complete"

7. *"batua da euskera garbiagoa, batua da batue, por eso se dice 'batua', denona da batue, de todos los euskaldunes"*

"the Unified Basque is more clear, the Unified Basque is unified, that is the reason why it is called 'unified', the Unified Basque is for everyone, for every Basque speaker (…)"

On the other hand, the opposite tendency also happens in this community, a tendency which Annette Schmidt (1985) speaking about the Dyirbal language has called 'corrective mechanism'. In fact, the older generation in some cases attempt to uphold traditional linguistic norms by correcting less proficient and new speakers. The main objection old speakers have is the contamination of young speakers' Basque with Spanish and also artificiality and 'gipuzcoality', that is, massive presence of forms from Guipuzkoa's Basque of the Standard Basque.

The *lack of linguistic consciousness* is another factor separating old native speakers from young second-language learners or *new-speakers*. For many *new-speakers* learning and speaking Basque is a way to show one's pride in being Basque. They view learning Basque positively because the language is, in their opinion, one of the most important cultural features of Basque identity. Members of this group, who never experienced the disapproval of Basque, are often more inclined to follow nationalistic slogans and to identify themselves with the idea of reviving Basque.

The case of the older native speakers is quite different. The standardisation of spoken Basque is inconceivable to many old native Basque speakers. They have the perception that local Basque dialects express a different world than a standardised Basque. Local Basque represents the tradition, the language of their elders. Local Basque for many of them represents certain nostalgia for country life and for the good old times before urbanisation and industrialisation. They have the impression that something has been lost something that is symbolised by their Basque dialect. Many of them do not see the need for a unified Basque. They feel new prestige as masters of the 'old' Basque language but they have not a national linguistic consciousness. For most of them Basque is a local language with a local restricted use. For many years

Spanish has served as the language of unity within the South Basque Country. It has been the standard language of communication with all outsiders, whether they were Spanish monolinguals or people coming outside their dialect area and they still use it in that way.

Moreover, the vernacular dialect does not receive the necessary attention in the schools, probably because of the need of a rapid linguistic planning. This situation doesn't facilitate the communication among the generations that can speak Basque, i.e., the oldest and the youngest generations. Young people who learn Basque as a second language do not have the opportunity to study the specific dialect of their home area. They learn from teachers who are native speakers of another dialect or who use a standard, neutral Basque, which does not bear the marking of any particular area of the Basque Country. These learners may acquire a perfect Basque, but it will be foreign to the native speakers of their home area. Then, the dialectal differences between the local dialect and the Standard Basque prevent the oldest and youngest generations from speaking Basque to each other.

Basque-Spanish Language Allocation

A complex network of factors including interlocutor, setting, topic and speaker's confidence and ability governs the choice of Spanish, Standard Basque and the Basque dialect in these communities. Often several factors interact at one time but some of them have more importance than others do.

I consider the *interlocutor* the major factor in the language choice of this community. There is an automatic switch to Spanish when a non Basque-speaker joins the group. This attitude is based both, in the necessity of a common code of communication and sometimes in the Spanish monolingual's suspicious attitude towards any conversation they can not understand. This choice, however, also happens among Basque speakers from different groups. Sometimes the speaker feels that he/she has to modify his/her Basque to suit the communicative ability of the hearer. In these cases of adjustment two main tendencies are involved. The most common one is an automatic choice of Spanish. Sometimes there is also code switching between Spanish and Basque.

This last tendency, however, is not always due to the need of suiting the communicative ability of the hearer. In fact, it is a normal use of semi-speakers and also fluent-speakers of these dialects that is governed by the *topic* and their confidence and ability in that topic. For these speakers Basque is restricted to one type of speech situation, that is, traditional domains. Then, Basque speakers often chose to speak Spanish when the topic includes terms or expressions that usually don't use in Basque, i.e., to speak about many topics that are not related to traditional spheres of use. Actually, many speakers support that some topics are better explained in Spanish and, then, they switch to Spanish without any more conditions.

Another important factor affecting language choice including the most fluent speakers is the *setting*. The speakers make use of their dialect usually at home in a familiar setting, but not-even the most fluent speakers of these communities use Basque at work or at public settings. In any public setting the use of Basque is very limited. Spanish is the main language in shops, bars or public institutions.

Also the presence of the Standard Basque in these communities is very unusual. While the Standard Basque is the common language in schools and in some official institutions connected to education, in everyday public life one can very seldom hear people speaking Standard Basque. Sometimes they make use of Basque in sporadic and symbolic public events. For instance, in the town festivals and in the *Korrika*, which is a massive event in favour of the Basque language, it is quite common to find people speaking Basque.

From all this it follows that the presence of the Basque language in these Basque communities is very exceptional. Spanish is the main language out of the home and also in this domain Spanish is replacing the Basque dialect. As for the Standard Basque, even if the amount of people learning it is increasing, it has not sufficient presence in everyday life. Standard Basque is limited to educational settings.

The breakdown of Basque communication

To conclude, I would like to summarise some sociolinguistic features of the analysed communities reported in this work and also emphasise the consequences they have in the language use of Basque in general (cf. Elordui, 1994; 1995b).

Certainly, all the political, economic and cultural factors explained in this presentation have induced the loss of natural transmission and use of these Basque dialects. But, in my opinion, two of these factors are nowadays stopping the revival of the use of these dialects: first, the linguistic generation gap and, secondly, the fact that in the school, the vernacular dialect does not receive the necessary attention.

These two circumstances have adverse consequences for the transmission and use among different groups of speakers of Basque. The linguistic generation gap makes it impossible for family members to have a natural use of the language at home and obstructs the existence of a natural transmission process. The fact that children don't acquire in the school the least knowledge of the vernacular dialect diminishes the chances of common communication between the oldest and youngest generations. Likewise, the lack of communication between generations encourages speakers in the belief that the Standard Basque is an artificial language and also it makes children think that Basque is another second language that is used only in school, like English or French.

As a consequence of all these facts, Basque is not recovering in the public domains. It persists in domestic settings among the older generation and, even in these domestic spheres of use, Basque is less and less used. Spanish is supplanting it also in these Basque's traditional domains. The older generation members use Basque for casual social interaction among their contemporaries. Occasionally some specialised use of Basque will remain in more formal spheres: religion, typically, and sometimes a few other more or less ritualised behaviours. Besides, the Standard Basque is not integrated in the familiar settings. It has been introduced only in educational domains.

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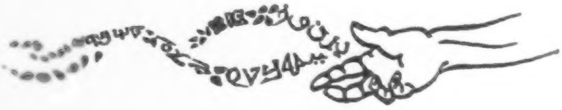

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Impact and Future Prospects

Abstract

Dashing Amazigh Hopes for Language Maintenance through Schools

Hassan Ouzzate
Institute of Education, London
[hasouzz@yahoo.com]

Perhaps only a few of the audience would recognize the word "Amazigh", and may have difficulties pronouncing it[1]. Yet it is one the most important endangered languages in the Western Mediterranean area. This is what the natives call their language, otherwise known in English as "Berber".[2]

The Very Natural Curse of Variation

The first question that comes to the critical mind is whether Amazigh is one or many languages? If one looks at the geographical area that this language more or less covers, one realizes that it is a vast area between the eastern borders of Egypt[3] to the Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, running through Libya, Tunisia, Algeria , Morocco, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mauritania.

The immensity of this geographical stretch naturally will have an impact on the linguistic reality involved, not only in this huge international area but also within individual countries. In a single country, like Morocco, at least three dialects are officially recognised as such. In spite of the above, many serious students of Amazigh dialectology have stressed the ease with which it is possible to connect to other Amazigh dialects once one is mastered[4]

Before standardization of Amazigh can be achieved, it must first be recognised as a major component of the national scenes of North Africa.[5] Unfortunately, none of the governments of Morocco, Algeria, Libya, or Tunisia, which hold the largest percentages of their national populations have yet seriously considered institutional recognition of the Amazigh language. Timid attempts have been made in Algeria, lip service discourses were made in Morocco, but no serious governmental action has been taken to admit Amazigh into public education. A legitimate series of questions comes to mind: what the number of the speakers of this language? What percentage do they represent of the total population?

Short-cutting History

Any answer will have to underline the fact that North Africa is usually considered as part of "the Arab World". So when did North Africa lose its original Amazigh identity to become Arabic? A quick answer would be: very recently, in the wake of Western colonial expansion and attempt to reconfigure the political mapping of the world. The process started with the spread of Islam (in the 9th. Century AD), but continued very slowly until the Age of Western Imperialism.

It was not therefore so much ethnic arabization[6] that changed the identity of North Africa as successive coercive ideological and political actions going till this day. In a nutshell, it is the aversion of the Amazigh people for centralized and hegemonic forms of government that led them constantly to oppose any such forms; their survival as an independent culture had been possible until modernity brought about means mighty enough to crush any form of cultural and other forms of resistance.

Update on Amazigh in the Educational System

Today, to sum up with a symbolic situation, that of Morocco: in 1994 King Hassan II promised to introduce Amazigh in primary education. Now, more than five years later, he is dead, but Amazigh is still awaiting introduction in schools. The situation in the neighbouring countries is no more promising.

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[1] Final "gh" represents a sound similar to Parisian French "R", and the word carries the meaning of "free", as in free man.

[2] The term "Berber" is clearly derived from "Barbarian", which explains why conscious natives have never accepted this appellation, unless under duress.

[3] of which the most famous locality is the Oasis of Siwa, where Alexander the Great was supposed to seek the advice of the wise, when conquering Egypt and the Middle East..

[4] Andre Basset, Lionel Galand, Salem Chaker and Ahmed Boukous are but a few among hundreds.

[5] Referred to by Amazigh activists as Tamazgha, that Amazigh-land

[6] Through massive migration from the Middle-East

Abstract

Latvian
from Endangered to Semi-Restored Official Language

Andrejs Veisbergs
Latvia
[anveis@lanet.lv]

Latvian is one of the two surviving Baltic languages. In mid-1990s there were about 1.5 million Latvians in the world, 1 377 000 of them residing in Latvia. Latvians are the only nation exceeding 1 million in Europe which has decreased if compared with the pre-Second World war situation The decline of Latvian started after the Soviet Union annexed Latvia in 1940. Russian was introduced in schools as a subject and state administration overseen by Russian *apparatchiki* gradually passed over to Russian. Numerous Russian-speaking immigrants were settled in Latvia to compensate for losses from the war, deportation and emigration. Latvian was gradually ousted from different spheres. Propagation of the Soviet variant of bilingualism became obligatory. Rigid Russification reigned in working places, while schools, press, literature, radio, and television were subject to strong Russian influence. Large-scale borrowing of Russian technical terms with certain phonetic and morphological adaptation occurred. Proper Latvian did survive unadulterated in literature in which Soviet ideological puritanism in a way combined with Latvian language purism to form a sheltered, if not artificial and isolated, language situation.

Language planning and cultural work in Latvia, being moderate and dealing with specific linguistic problems and dictionary compilation was not able to affect the linguistic situation radically. Thus the language was not dying because of better opportunities offered by Russian or linguistic erosion, but because of deliberate language policies which suppressed use of Latvian and drowned the small nation in a sea of migrant Russian speakers and Russian-controlled media, administration, and professional spheres. This sad state of the language provoked counteraction and the language issue was in the very centre of political issues when Gorbachev's perestroika started and pro-independence movement became possible. The process was transformed in 1990 with Latvia's regaining of independence.

The speaker will look at various aspects of demography, citizenship, minorities and politics linked with the language issue where the changes have been drastic or difficult to achieve. Since Latvia is an independent state, hence the administration and working language of the state and local government is Latvian. The language laws of 1989, 1992, and possibly 1999, ensure the position of the state language and its development. A serious change in the visual image of the language has been achieved. Learning of Latvian is an incentive for those willing to acquire Latvian citizenship. More education in minority languages drains the Russian-speaking population numbers. There has been a fast change of the foreign language distribution in Latvian schools -- few Latvians study Russian, which poses a question about what will happen in the future when most Latvians will not know Russian. Yet Latvians still have a psychological minority complex. To the question "Do you think Latvian is at present threatened?", 65% of Latvians replied in the affirmative and 92% were pessimistically concerned.

Linguistically the situation is characterized by three large processes: a gradual diminishing of the role of Russian; a gradual growth of the role of Latvian, and a very fast growth of the role of English. Many people feel that as soon as Russian dominance ended, English dominance began. Taking into account the large number of Germanic borrowings, international words, and Russian loans, the steady influx of English loans puts the foreign element in Latvian at a very high proportion – occasionally suggesting that of a hybrid language.

Bilingual Education and Language Use among the Shipibo of the Peruvian Amazon

Kathleen Tacelosky
Eastern Nazarene College
23 East Elm Street, Quincy MA 02170-2999 USA
[tacelosk@enc.edu]

Abstract

Formal education is a change agent in any society. In multilingual societies, language choice for education may contribute to language maintenance and/or language shift. This study investigates an education program that is patterned after a transition bilingual model introduced several decades ago in the multilingual Amazon Basin of Peru. Oral surveys were administered to 237 Shipibo participants living in 13 communities that asked them to rate their language use and ability. Numerical indices were created, and scores were used as dependent variables in analyses of variance and regressions. These quantitative results were combined with qualitative analyses to create a picture of language use in the Shipibo context. Transition bilingual education (TBE), generally purported to be assimilationist in ideology, has as one of its goals a shift away from the minority language to the majority language. Thus, a shift away from Shipibo might be expected. However, the results of this investigation suggest that, in spite having participated in a TBE program for several decades, the Shipibo have maintained spoken Shipibo and acquired some biliteracy ability. An explanation is found in the unique history of the Shipibo and the influence of the contrasting ideologies of the institutions that implemented the program.

History

For centuries prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the people of the Peruvian Amazon had little or no contact with outsiders (Lathrap, 1970); rather, there was competition among groups already inhabiting the rainforest. Following armed conflict defeated groups found themselves forced upland, away from the fertile flood plains, trying to farm and survive away from the major rivers. The Shipibo, who prevailed over many others for prime land near the Ucayali river, continued through the centuries to fight other indigenous groups for their land forcing many to go even further inland (Lathrap, 1970). Those who were forced to the interfluvial uplands encountered hardship cultivating the land, but at least to some extent they were spared the disease, enslavement, and attacks from outsiders met by others groups. The riverine groups, among them the Shipibo, were the ones the Spanish explorers met upon arrival into the Amazon basin in the sixteenth century.

The Spanish Conquistadors It is instructive to recall that prior to their arrival in the Amazon, the Spanish conquistadors spent over a century in more easily accessible parts of what is now Peru. They massacred hundreds of thousands of Incas, taking over the land, the ruling system, religious practices, and education (Paulston, 1971). Education, largely implemented by the Catholic Church, when not focused entirely on the Spaniards themselves, was characterized by efforts to convert the Incas to Catholicism (Paulston, 1971).

The European accounts that chronicle the contact with specific indigenous peoples are sketchy from the point of view of the indigenous peoples, while detailed information of the hardships endured by the conquistadors, explorers, entrepreneurs, and missionaries is readily available. Often the term Indian is used to refer to all native inhabitants as they were viewed by the outsiders who landed on their shores, that is, a kind of general term for all the people inhabiting Peru before the conquest. Biased and imperfect reports notwithstanding, it seems that it was in 1657 that the Spanish soldiers, and soon after them the missionaries, landed on Shipibo shores (Steward, 1963). Their experience of constant warring with neighbors must have prepared them well to manage outsiders: the Shipibo promptly killed the unwelcome company. Subsequent attempts to missionize the Shipibo had the same result until the late eighteenth century, when some missions were established more or less peaceably (Trudell, 1993).

The Rubber Barons The next invaders of the Peruvian Amazon, in the first decade of the twentieth century, were the rubber barons and their accomplices. They were quick to realize that they would amass their fortunes more swiftly if they availed themselves of the cheap (often free) labor of the native inhabitants, so the Shipibo and others were forced to tap trees and collect rubber. If not "flogged, shot, or mutilated" for failing to meet the quotas, the indigenous peoples found themselves in immeasurable debt and endless service to the *patrones* (Smith, 1990:299; see also Werlich, 1978:123). Referring to the Shipibo-Conibo, Lathrap states that, "[a]ll were completely caught up in the rubber boom during the first decade of this century. Individual family groups came under the total domination of particular patrons and there was a great displacement of population during this period" (1970:180). Trudell maintains that the Shipibo suffered only a "relatively small degree of trauma...during the rubber boom" that "allowed them to avoid the extreme damage to population and culture experienced by other Amazon groups" (1993:95). Whether in greater or lesser measure, the Shipibo experienced distress and breakdown during the two centuries of outside contact. Some other groups suffered to the extent that they never recovered, either scattering into the rainforest or being completely annihilated, but the Shipibo, when the rubber boom ended, "reassembled themselves under various strong Western influences" (Lathrap, 1970:181), not the least of which was the school.

Education

While it was the European missionaries, particularly the Jesuits and the Franciscans, who introduced the institution of school to Latin America, it would be shortsighted to suggest that there was no system of education prior to that time. Generations of Shipibo and other native groups taught and learned how to spin cotton, make and paint pottery, construct canoes, tell stories, fish, farm, manage natural resources and defend themselves. When the Spanish missionaries established schools, however, they were not readily accessible to the Indian child. Culturally and linguistically school was foreign to the youngsters who were not only unfamiliar with the setting, but who had no knowledge of the Spanish language.

Education after Independence

Following Peru's independence from Spain in the nineteenth century, education was an issue of great importance to the new leaders. As Peru was being established as a new republic, the rulers had to consider what has now become known as "the Indian problem." José de San Martín, the first leader of the independent nation, declared in 1821, "Henceforth the aborigines shall not be called Indians; they are children and citizens of Peru, and they shall be known as Peruvians" (Hanke, 1967:284). However, the condition and position of the thousands of people who lived in the rainforest, whether called Indians of Peruvians, remained unchanged. The mere notion that the indigenous Peruvians would be educated provoked opposition from landowners, politicians, the Catholic church, and other exploiters who feared they would lose control if the Indians were educated. Their resistance, coupled with the fact that to policy makers the indigenous languages were incomprehensible, made the prospect of education for the indigenous peoples "doomed from the outset" (Davies, 1970:19).

Obstacles To Education Almost every source on the matter of education for the whole of Peru cites at least three insurmountable obstacles: geography, race, and politics (see Speer, 1915; Davies, 1970; Paulston, 1971). First, the rainforest presents a particular challenge in terms of geography. Besides being isolated by mountains and often flooded by rains, the high temperatures, thick vegetation and disease carrying insects deter the average adventure traveler, to say nothing of school teachers, administrators and politicians. Second, the issue of race is problematized because politicians do not know how to deal with the fact that many people do not speak Spanish. "Efforts to overcome racial divisions in a country with a race-linked socio-cultural hierarchy and economic structure where the European-oriented elite is on top and the *Indígena* masses are on the bottom have had little success..." (Paulston, 1971:88). Third, the matter of politics is a hindrance to people everywhere who are trying to establish and implement policies under new and changing governments. For example, in 1925 a bill was passed that led to the establishment of an agricultural school for indigenous children of Puno. In addition, then-president Augosto Leguía created the Indian Bureau in the Ministry of Education to supervise church-related and other rural schools. However, these efforts and their creators have been criticized as falsely favoring the cause of native Peruvians as a political move and in the final analysis doing more harm than good (Davies 1970). In fact, upon chronicling almost fifty years of legislation having to do with "Indian affairs" Davies concludes that "[a]t mid-twentieth century the Indians were still isolated economically, politically, socially, and culturally from the mainstream of Peruvian society" (1970, 155).

Some Advancements In the early 1940s, Manuel Prado, the president at the time had as his motto "to govern is to educate," and he began to move beyond the lip service that had long prevailed. In addition to improvements in the realm of teacher training, Prado sent out the Indian Culturalization Brigades (Brigadas de Culturalización Indígena), established by previous president Benavides in 1939, to teach indigenous adults Spanish, history and agricultural methods (Davies, 1970). There was even an attempt to teach primary school teachers indigenous languages. These advancements, though a step in the right direction, were quite limited compared to the task and only reached the Quechua and Aymara peoples of the highlands. The Amazon groups, who had long presented difficulties of greater linguistic diversity, unfamiliarity, and inaccessibility, continued to be disregarded for education.

A major development that would forever alter the lives of the inhabitants of the Amazon basin occurred during the term of Prado in the early 1940s: a road between Huanuco and the Ucayali River was completed. The city of Pucallpa flourished and suddenly the Shipibo and other riverine Panoan groups found themselves in close and regular contact with Mestizos[1] and their culture (Stocks, 1984). In 1945, the Minister of Education of Peru, Luis E. Valcárcel, together with colleagues from Bolivia, devised a plan for indigenous education. Although it appears to have been designed with the Quechua and Aymara in mind, it reflected the Ministry of Education's intention for indigenous Peruvians in general. It called for an improvement of the position of the Indian, which, among other things, included the teaching of Spanish. The method of instruction incorporated use of the first language to facilitate literacy in Spanish (Pozzi-Escot, 1991).

Bilingual Education in the Amazon Basin

In 1952, Manuel Prado signed a resolution initiating a BE program that would be specifically designed for the vernacular-speaking Amazon basin inhabitants. Concurrently, linguists, educators, and support personnel from the Summer Institute of Linguistics arrived in the

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[1] The term Mestizo has been used to refer to Peruvians of mixed Spanish and indigenous blood. Indigenous people also use the term to refer to people who attempt to deny their indigenous heritage by dressing and acting in a certain way.

Amazon rainforest of Peru and were available to assist in the implementation of BE. This program departed from the worldwide trend to begin with monolingual (in the national language) instructors and attempt to teach them the languages of the people they would be working with. Instead, the BE program of the Peruvian Amazon trained speakers of indigenous languages to teach their mother tongue (MT) and later, Spanish. In this way, children would be introduced to the school experience as well as new concepts and skills, such as reading, in their MT before having Spanish as a subject and eventually, as the medium of education.

The first teachers trained, two of which were Shipibo, were from six language groups and were largely unschooled. (Some had attended Spanish schools and learned to read a little, but most needed training in literacy and Spanish.) The training course was offered during the summer months (January through March) and during the year teachers went back to their communities to teach. (See Larson and Davis (1981) for details of the teacher training and documentation of the BE program from its early days.)

The plan as far as language of education was concerned, was to first have the students read in their own language, learn oral Spanish, and then proceed to reading in Spanish (Larson, 1981). Resolving the issue of whether to first teach reading in students' first language (L1) or second language (L2) is of utmost importance. There continues to be controversy surrounding the subject, but the program in Peru has remained steadfast in its decision to teach students to read first in their MT. The progression has been for school to begin with Shipibo as the medium of instruction, move to some combination of Shipibo and Spanish, and by the end of primary (six years) have most, if not all, instruction in Spanish. In this way, the BE program in Peru is patterned after a classic transition model.

Models And Assumptions Of Bilingual Education Classifications of models of BE tend to be of two main types generally based on their outcomes or aims. Baker (1996) distinguishes between maintenance and transitional types, sometimes called strong and weak models (Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia, 1995). Strong or maintenance models tend to be undergirded by ideologies of equality, empowerment and cultural pluralism, while weak models, like the transition model on which the program under investigation is based, are generally regarded as being supported by assimilationist ideology. Ruíz (1984) suggests that people hold political views toward language that take one of three general perspectives: language as a problem, language as a right, language as a resource.

Those who view language as a problem often hold to an ideology that assumes that language minorities should be incorporated into mainstream culture and society. Those who view language as a right hold a pluralistic belief that, like religion, people should be allowed to practice whatever language they like. Those who hold this perspective may support individual rights or language group rights. Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) proponents support the belief that people have the right to use their language as a means of expression (World Conference on Linguistic Rights, 1995), to identify positively with their MT and be respected regardless of the status of the MT (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995). The third perspective on language is that language is a resource. In the realm of economics, both the use of other languages and the people who speak them are viewed as assets for purposes of international communication. Language is also a cultural resource that "build[s] social bridges…between cultures" (Baker 1996, 357). In this view, not only should there be a peaceful coexistence of national unity and linguistic diversity (Baker, 1996), but multilingualism at a societal level is also perceived as a benefit (Swain, 1983).

Views of those who Established the BE Program in the Peruvian Amazon In order to understand how differing ideologies may play out in decisions concerning education, it is instructive to examine the ideological perspectives of the two institutions that collaborated in establishing the BE program among the Shipibo and other Amazon peoples: the Peruvian government and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The two share a common commitment to education; however, their orientation toward language differs.

SIL is known for its involvement in issues pertaining to vernacular languages. Closely affiliated with Wycliffe Bible Translators, SIL supports the goal of providing scriptures to people in their Mother Tongue. They do this by learning local languages, putting them in writing, making dictionaries and grammars, teaching people to read and encouraging members of the community to write stories and books in their language. According to Larson, SIL is committed to "encouraging maintenance of the ethnic identity…" (1981:31). Further, members believe "that every person is created in the image of God and has value and dignity" (SIL Home Page). SIL's stated commitment can be interpreted as falling into Ruiz's "language as resource" classification. Likewise, their ideology appears to be one of linguistic maintenance and pluralism.

Conversely, the Peruvian government has traditionally held the orientation of "language as problem". In a 1967 speech presented at the Ministerio de Educación Pública, Carlos Salazar Romero summed up the sentiment of not only the government of the time (Belaúnde was president), but of so many before and after, "…government is deeply committed to integration. In very crude terms, this means the incorporation of some five million inhabitants to our national life. Only through education can this be accomplished…" (Paulston, 1971:22). A Ministry of Education publication from the same year describes its two main objectives to be attained through education of the indigenous people of the Amazon Basin as integration into national life and social and economic improvement (Paulston 1971).

Almost twenty years into the BE program, in 1972, the Peruvian government established an educational reform. The reform was to change policies in which education had been "an instrument to Hispanicize and assimilate the Indian population" and consider education as "a tool for permanent bilingual, bicultural development beyond the narrow barriers of the school" (Hamel, 1995:276). Although General Education Law 19326 does include a clause for the "preservation and development" of the diverse languages of Peru (Trapnell, 1984), it does not differ substantially from previous legislation. "[B]ilingual literacy teaching [is] a preliminary process to easier, and more sure and permanent hispanicization…" (Hornberger, 1988:24). Hornberger contends that "the dominant theme is the recognition of the rights of the indigenous peoples to participate in the nation" not their rights to develop their own language (1988:24 -25). In May 1982, another version of the General Law of Education was passed. It continues the assimilationist ideology of previous laws: "In the communities whose language is not Spanish, education is initiated in the autochthonous languages with a tendency toward progressive castellanización [assimilation to Spanish language and culture] with the goal of consolidating in the student her/his socio-cultural characteristics with those that belong to modern society" (Ballón A., 1982:23).

The recent history of Peru's changing educational policies has included an attempt to move away from assimilationist policies toward true maintenance of language and culture of indigenous peoples. In 1988, the National Directorate of Bilingual Education (DIGEBIL:Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe) was formed. Their policy, which is one of intercultural, bilingual education (IBE), goes beyond previous goals to include encouraging students to understand and take pride in their culture so that they can approach other cultures with confidence (DIGEBIL, 1989; Aikman, 1996). IBE, decidedly anti-assimilationist, includes native peoples' participation "with their own voice and with the abundance of their specific attributes in the world scene" (Mossonyi and Rengifo, 1983:211). However, I did not observe that the new policies have been implemented into practice in the Shipibo communities visited.

In spite of differing ideologies, SIL and the Peruvian government agreed on and implemented a BE which for the first time made education linguistically accessible to the vernacular-speaking Amazon Basin inhabitants. The ostensibly incongruous perspectives of the two parties that established the education program will be considered in the discussion section.

Method

The data for this study were gathered in Peru during September, October, and November of 1996. Oral surveys were administered in order to obtain the views and experiences of a random sample of Shipibo people concerning BE and other issues expected to bear on BE. The resulting data for analysis were the written transcriptions of 237 orally administered surveys as well as school attendance records, and school and community observations.

Participants were asked if they spoke, read, and wrote Shipibo and Spanish a lot (*mucho*), some (*regular*), a little (*poco*), or not at all (*nada*). The participants were asked to give a self-report for several reasons. First, because it was unknown for what purposes Shipibo people use literacy, if a test had been designed based on reading a text, a letter or instructions of some type, it may have tested people on their ability to do something they never do, thereby decontextualizing the exercise. Furthermore, a test administered in the school setting would have only reached people currently attending school. Finally, asking people to report on their own abilities required them to think about the purposes for which they employ their literacy skills and report on their success. A study of women's health issues in Bolivia, which included self-report of literacy skills, suggests that people's evaluations of their own literacy ability and those of researchers are not far apart. They found that, "[w]hen women's self-reports [of literacy] were compared to the investigator's evaluation of reading ability, the results were highly consistent ($p<0.001$)" (Bender and McCann, 1993:748).

The responses concerning the reading and writing of Shipibo were combined to construct a Shipibo Index - a measure of Shipibo literacy (where literacy is defined by the respondents' own assessment of their ability to read and write). In this way, a Shipibo Index was generated yielding a range of zero (if the response to both reading and writing Shipibo were "not at all") to six (if the response to both reading and writing Shipibo were "a lot"). A Spanish Index was constructed in like manner with the same high and low values of zero through six. For example, if a person answered "regular" (value = 2) for read Shipibo and "poco" (value = 1) for write Shipibo, they would have a Shipibo Index score of 3. Speaking ability, although addressed in the survey, was not included in the index. Virtually all (99%) of the respondents speak "a lot" of Shipibo and they learn it as their Mother Tongue (MT) in their homes as children. Speaking ability in Spanish varied widely and often had to do with influences other than school attendance. (More than half (52%) of the 21 respondents who had never attended school reported having some or a little Spanish speaking ability. (They learned it from contact with Spanish speakers in trading with them or working for them.) In order not to exaggerate the influence of school, the indices were restricted to reading and writing and are therefore best thought of as literacy indices.

Because one of the primary objectives was to evaluate the role of education, I wanted to test for effect of years of school on language ability. People were asked how many years they attended school and where they learned to read and write. With few exceptions, literate Shipibo people have learned to read and write in the bilingual schools. It may be hypothesized that the more years of school people attend, the more ability they will have in reading and writing Spanish. Once the indices were created, a linear, least squares (LLS) regression of Shipibo Index and

Spanish Index (y) on Years of School (x) was used to determine the effect of school on Shipibo and Spanish literacy.

For purposes of analysis, the participants were statistically divided into three groups based on age variation in the data resulting in three cohorts. This was done using a K-means clustering analysis, a clustering algorithm that creates a given number of groups based on maximizing the amount of variance between groups while minimizing the amount of variance between groups (Dillon and Goldstein 1984). This post-hoc clustering resulted in a division that is conceptually pertinent in the Shipibo education context. Because most of the communities did not have schools at all until about 25 years ago, Cohort 1 (average age 50.7 years), representing the oldest generation would not have had an opportunity to attend school. Cohort 2 (average age 30.1 years), includes people who most likely witnessed the building of the school in their community as children, but they or their parents may have considered their own attendance optional. Cohort 3 (average age 16.6 years), represents the generation for whom school attendance is the norm.

In addition to questions pertaining to language ability, participants were asked about language use. Shipibo people were asked whether it was necessary for men and women to be able to speak, read and write in Shipibo and Spanish and if so, why. Further, they were asked whether, for what purposes and where (what domain) they used their skills in Shipibo and Spanish. The results of the interview responses were combined with observations of language use in the communities to create an overall picture of the language use among the Shipibo.

Results

A linear least squares regression was performed between Years of School attendance (independent variable) and Shipibo Index (dependent variable.) The r^2 value (.353) is significant at the level $P<0.0001$ which indicates that 35% of the variance in the Shipibo Index is explained by number of Years of School a person attends. However, an examination of residuals indicated nonlinearity. Therefore, a second order model was applied to the data (Shipibo Index = constant + β (years of school) + γ (years of school) ^{2} + ε (error). Shipibo Index = 0.78771 + 0.720402 yrs. – 0.036096 yrs^2 + ε. The amount of variation accounted for by the inclusion of the second order variable was higher (r^2 = 0.4018) than the simple linear model. Figure 1 shows the scatterplot of the nonlinear model of Years of School versus Shipibo Index. (The circles from smallest to largest represent 1 case, 2-4 cases, 5-7 cases, 8-10 cases, 11-13 cases, 14- 16 cases and greater than 16 cases. The dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.) This analysis reveals that there is a relationship between school attendance and Shipibo literacy and that after a certain number of Years of School attendance (about 6), ability to read and write Shipibo does not improve for most people. This is not surprising given that education after grade six is conducted entirely in Spanish.

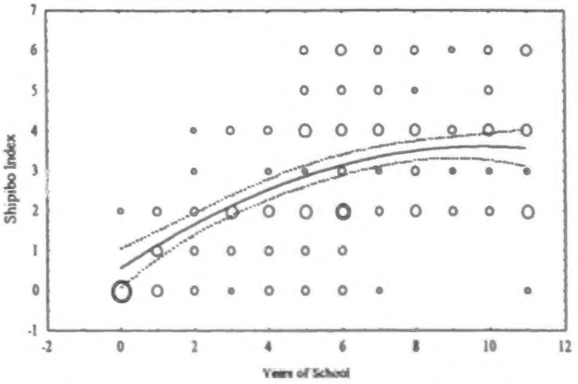

Figure 1: Scatterplot of Years of School x Shipibo Index

A linear least squares regression was also used to analyze the relationship between Years of School and Spanish Index. Although the regression was significant ($r^2 = 0.601$, $p<0.0001$), an examination of residuals indicated nonlinearity. A second order model (Spanish Index = constant + β (years of school) + γ (years of school) ^{2} + ε (error). Spanish Index = 0.113577 + 0.879889 – 0.036977 yrs^2 + ε was applied to the data. The amount of variation accounted for by the inclusion of the second order variable was higher (r^2 = .657) than the simple linear model. Figure 2 shows the nonlinear model. (The circles from smallest to largest represent 1 case, 2-4 cases, 5-7 cases, 8-10 cases, 11-13 cases, 14- 16 cases and greater than 16 cases.) As can be seen in figure 2, after about 11 years of school (completed secondary), Spanish Index tapers off indicating that attending more years of school beyond that number, does not necessarily improve literacy in Spanish. Of course, by the time a person is in the upper grades of secondary school there is less emphasis on language instruction and more on content, so this result is to be expected. In addition, the possible responses on the survey were not fine tuned enough to make detailed distinctions of high level language proficiency.

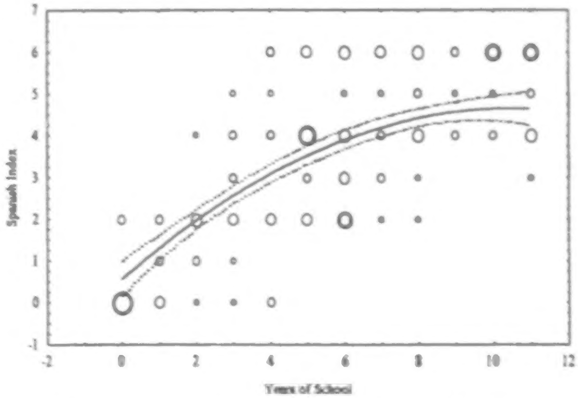

Figure 2: Scatterplot of Years of School x Spanish Index

Having established that there is a relationship between bilingual school attendance and language ability, the study turns to the matter of language use. When asked whether Shipibo women and men need to be able to speak read and write in each language, over three-quarters (76%) of the respondents answered yes to all; that is, everyone should be literate in and able to speak both languages.

Why Should People Be Bilingual and Biliterate?

In a study of functional literacy among school children in Morocco, Spratt and her colleagues found that literacy skills acquired in school might not be transferred to activities outside of school. "Learning to seek information through literacy – a key dimension of functional literacy – is not an inevitable outcome of school learning; rather, it may require explicit instruction" (Spratt et al. 1991:192). When the Shipibo were asked why they thought it was necessary to read and write (school acquired skills) and speak Shipibo and Spanish, they gave both sentimental and instrumental reasons. (See table 1 for a representative list.) Reasons for reading and writing Shipibo were largely sentimental and included matters of identity and language maintenance. Reasons for reading and writing Spanish were mostly instrumental and ranged from reading and writing letters, to being a prerequisite for occupying positions of leadership.

The reflective responses belie the fact that giving reasons for why one should speak, read, and write Shipibo and Spanish was a difficult task. Especially troublesome was giving reasons for why people should read and write Shipibo. This may be because it is easier to give instrumental examples, like reading of books, than it is to express sentimental reasons having to due with identity. It is interesting to note that no overtly sentimental reasons were given for using Spanish. (Speaking with Mestizos could be interpreted as sentimental, but more likely it has to do with dealing with the variety of Mestizos who come to the community to sell, trade and operate in official capacities.) For example, no one said, "We live in Peru, we should speak Spanish," but many gave answers like, "We are Shipibo, we should speak Shipibo."

WHY PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW SHIPIBO
We should speak our language
We're not Mesitzos
It's our language
to preserve our language
so we don't forget our customs
What good would it be if we only knew Spanish and not Shipibo? none
We need to read and write to maintain our language
There are books in Shipibo, too
There aren't any books, but we should translate some
There are not books in Shipibo, nevertheless we should learn to read because we are Shipibo
to read the New Testament/Bible
If we don't keep practicing Shipibo, the new generation will forget. We have to read and write Shipibo- it's our mother tongue, our heart language.

WHY PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW SPANISH
to speak with visitors to the community
to speak with Mestizos
to write letters
to be able to buy and sell
to defend ourselves
to be equal with Spanish-speakers
to teach the children
Women should learn to read and write too so that they can occupy a position in the community
It's especially important for young women to learn to speak Spanish so they can be equal to men and be able to talk to outsiders
If we don't speak Spanish it's like being mute.

Table 1: Reasons given for why people should know Shipibo and Spanish.

To explore in what ways people are using Shipibo and Spanish, people were asked how often and what they read and write. Over 20% (49/237) of the people interviewed "never" or "almost never" read. Of those, 41% report to be able to read at least a little. Not surprisingly, most of the people who never or almost never read (29/49) are in Cohort I (the oldest generation). Forty-three of all the people interviewed (17%) have never read a book and 55 (23%) have never read newspaper. Almost half (48%) of those interviewed do not write letters and about the same number do not receive them.

Over 20% (52/237) of the people surveyed responded that they read everyday. That leaves the majority (57%) reading sometimes. Forty-one percent of all the people interviewed buy books of some kind. (Sometimes someone who does not read buys books as in the case of a parent who purchases texts for a child.) Of those who buy books, almost three-quarters (74.5%) only buy books written in Spanish, and only one person reported to buy books exclusively written in Shipibo. The remaining quarter of book-buyers purchase books written in both languages. Over half of the people interviewed write (52%) and receive (53%) letters. Nearly a quarter write in Shipibo at least sometimes; only 4 people write only letters in Shipibo; 95% write at least some letters in Spanish. Over 75% of those who write in Spanish write exclusively in Spanish. Of those who write in Spanish, 22% revealed in the course of the interview (it was not a specific question) that they write in Spanish to Shipibo family members.

Discussion and Conclusions

The bilingual education program among the Shipibo is promoting the use of Spanish for reading and writing. At the same time, by using Shipibo in the early grades, the school is reinforcing Shipibo's role for intimate and informal speaking. Although the danger with this arrangement is that the Shipibo language will be perceived as less important and of lower prestige, the Shipibo have managed to maintain strong self identity and continued use of spoken Shipibo. How has this been possible in spite of the assimilationist intentions of the government? Two explanations are posited.

First, as mentioned above, the individuals who were largely responsible for the on site implementation of the program, the linguists and educators affiliated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, have a stated commitment to language and cultural maintenance. The apparent contradiction of such a philosophy with a transition program of education can be interpreted in light of the situation in the early 1950s. Worldwide trends in public education have traditionally included using national or prestige languages as the sole language of classroom instruction. For the Shipibo and others, this practice resulted in the systematic discrimination against those who do not speak the prestige language or variety offered by the school. In essence, the language choice for the school denied them access to education. When the TBE program was adopted in 1953 it was a radical departure from monolingual discriminatory practices.

Second, as described above, the Shipibo have a history marked by their ability to compete and survive. Lathrap contends that the "fight for the limited supply of effective farm land has been the most important single force in the cultural history of the Amazon Basin" (1970:20). Before the arrival of the Spanish, the Shipibo were accustomed to not only fighting for the best land, but getting it. Throughout their history of warring, the Shipibo perceived themselves as culturally "civilized" compared to the inferior "backwoods Panoan groups" (Lathrap, 1970:182). Later, when the Spanish attempted to invade Shipibo territory, the Shipibo promptly killed them. Although the Spanish eventually did come in and subdue the Shipibo, their history of confrontation to attain what they wanted, combined with the superior self-image described by Lathrap, likely had a critical influence on how they dealt with foreign visitors and innovations, not the least of which was education.

The assimilationist intentions of the Peruvian government in establishing the BE program among the Shipibo and other ethnolinguistic groups of the rainforest were clearly stated at the outset of the program. Although the Shipibo have adopted the language and customs that surround them to some extent, after decades of BE, the Shipibo response has not been one of total assimilation into the Mestizo culture (at least not yet). As a newly literate society, they are deciding how to adapt new skills to their current situation. In this way, TBE may be seen as a stepping stone toward approaches that are distinctly established as ones that embrace and foster pluralism. This ought to include participation and decision-making from the Shipibo. Hornberger insists that "...what is needed for successful language maintenance planning and effective use of schools as agents for language maintenance is autonomy of the speech community in deciding about uses of languages in their schools and a societal context in which primary incentives exist for the use of one, two, or multiple languages in that and every other domain" (1988:237). More than a few Shipibo community members and leaders expressed concerns, ideas, and suggestions for improving their education system during the interviews of the current investigation. One man had great ideas about incorporating traditional Shipibo art into the school day. A visionary teacher shared his ideas for a Shipibo university. One community that the research team was not scheduled to visit heard that we were in a neighboring community and asked us to come talk to them about improving teacher effectiveness. Leaders and teachers in another community urged the research team to stay after dark so they could share their concerns for providing good education that prepares their children for the modern world and at the same time helps them maintain their sense of self as Shipibos. Although transition programs fall short in terms of their goals as they pertain to the rights of nonprestige language speakers and potential enrichment of prestige language speakers, this study suggests that transition BE, particularly in a context where the local language is secure as the language of the home and of identity, may provide a foundation on which a more inclusive, "ethno-education" could be built.

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The Role of All-Irish Schools in the Revitalization of the Irish Language

Sheila M. Shannon

University of Colorado at Denver

Abstract

This article reports on an ethnographic study of All-Irish schools in Ireland and the role they play in the revitalization of Irish. All-Irish schools are schools outside of the official Irish-speaking areas of Ireland and are schools in which all subjects are taught through the medium of Irish to students who, by and large, are native English speakers. Particularly, the author considers the evidence against the ideas of Joshua Fishman and Pádraig Ó Riagáin about the state and status of the Irish language. Arguing that revitalization of a language depends heavily on improved status, the author describes how Irish suffered a very low status historically. However, language status, like any ideology, is dynamic and can change. The author describes how the status of Irish has changed and how the All-Irish schools capitalize on the new high status the language has. The author concludes that indeed the All-Irish schools play a critical albeit limited role in the revitalization of the language.

Introduction

Joshua Fishman, whose sociolinguistic work has done more than that of any other scholar to examine and understand endangered languages, observes that the state and status of the Irish language is unique (Fishman, 1991). In his book, Reversing Language Shift (RLS), Fishman points out that Irish is in an enviable position among endangered languages, because it is a language with a state. However, he argues that it has been and continues to be "threatened with dislocation by English." He summarizes this threat with a litany of facts:

> An unparalleled combination of culturally, economically, politically and demographically dislocating factors (occupation, warfare, transfer of populations, the establishment of a dominant English-speaking class in towns and urban areas which later developed into all-English cities [and into the country's only centers of commerce, industry, wealth and political power], repeated famines that destroyed indigenous and authentic rural life and its traditions, legal prohibitions against Irish, significant periods of *de facto* abandonment by most major Church authorities, the rise of an Anglo-Irish culture that is not only locally noteworthy but which has solid claims to worldwide attention, and finally, the constant and still ongoing emigration to English- dominant counties both near and far), these have all contributed to the early, continual and still ongoing erosion of Irish in spite of the very substantial efforts and repeated ingenuity on behalf of RLS for some 100 years (the first 30 under voluntary auspices and the last 70 under combined voluntary and state auspices.). (pp. 122-123)

For Fishman, a complete reversal of language shift must culminate in intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue. In other words, a language must be spoken naturally by a mother to her children and become a part of "real, informal, intergenerational life." (p. 134) Generally, promoters of the Irish language have had complete reversal of language shift as a goal. Their enormous efforts over the last century have not achieved that goal, however. Fishman argues that some of the efforts should not be dismissed and that perhaps a modified goal should now be considered. Chief among those efforts is the All-Irish Schools movement of the last 25 years. The focus of this article is on the role of the All-Irish schools in the revitalization of the Irish language.

I begin the article with a brief history of the vitality and status of the Irish language. Following that I sketch the development of All-Irish schools (*Gaelscoileanna*). Finally I report on an ethnographic study I conducted of All-Irish schools and their role in the revitalization of Irish.

The status of the Irish language: An historical view

The Irish language is a Celtic language, which, along with Scots Gaelic and Manx, together form the Gaelic branch of Celtic languages. These Gaelic languages spread through the west and north of what are now Ireland and Great Britain over two thousand years ago. Welsh and Cornish, Celtic languages in the Brythonic branch, spread to what is now Wales and Cornwall to the west of England, respectively. Breton remains the only Celtic language spoken on continental Europe, in the north of France.

Celtic	
Gaelic	**Brythonic**
Scots Gaelic	Welsh
Manx	Cornish
Irish	Breton

Table 1. Celtic language family members

Today, the Celtic languages are endangered, i.e. intergenerational transmission of the languages is rapidly declining. Welsh, however, has enjoyed a successful and optimistic resurgence. It is not unusual to find Welsh and

English bilinguals, but some now have Welsh as their first language and a language that will remain dominant in their lives (Jones, personal communication). Manx, spoken on the Isle of Man, and Cornish are the least vital of the Celtic languages. Scots Gaelic, the ancient language of Scotland, and Breton claim native speakers today but very few monoglots or speakers dominant in the minority language.

Irish, perhaps, has undergone more shifts in use and status than any of the other Celtic languages. Certainly, all have been associated with political histories involving the invasion of the English or French, along with their powerfully dominant languages. Ó Riagáin (1997:4) points out, however, that "[A]s late as the sixteenth century the Irish language was the main language used in Ireland and the English monarchy had established only a modest and insecure foothold." An important fact is that the millions who spoke Irish at the time were generally poor farmers who lived almost exclusively in the rural and isolated western regions of Ireland.

It was inevitable that the English language would replace Irish in all areas but the rural west, but it would not have done so dramatically if the Great Famine of the mid-nineteenth century had not been a part of Irish history. The famine was brought about by a devastating blight of the potato crop, which was the single most important crop for the sustenance of the native Irish people. The famine forced many Irish speakers to emigrate and many died. By the beginning of the twentieth century, less than 20% of the country reported that they spoke Irish or around 600, 000 in a country that once had a population of eight million people, the majority of whom spoke Irish (Ó Riagáin, 1997).

Over the course of the 20th century, the Irish language has survived as a mother tongue in certain areas of the rural west in the official Irish-speaking areas known as the Gaeltacht.[1] Even in those places, Irish and English bilingualism is the norm with the exception of preschool children. In 1990, Reg Hindley, a British geographer, published a book based on a study of the vitality of Irish in the Gaeltacht which he titled *The Death of the Irish Language*. Irish scholars have criticized the study for methodology, interpretations and conclusions. Éamon Ó Ciosáin (1991) titled his critique *Buried Alive: A reply to The Death of the Irish Language.*

A prominent Irish sociolinguist, Pádraig Ó Riagáin, argues that the Irish language is currently undergoing two simultaneous processes (Ó Riagáin, 1997). One concerns its survival among native Irish speakers in the *Gaeltacht*. The other process involves the revival of the language generally among dominant and monolingual English speakers who comprise the majority of Irish people today. I maintain that the success of language revival involves the perceived status of the language. A language that is perceived with high status has improved chances of being a "living language."

The status of the Irish language

I have developed the following working definition of the dynamics of language status which is based primarily on my work regarding Spanish in the U.S. (Shannon, 1995, 1999) However, one can replace the prestigious language with English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, etc. depending on the historical moment and the social and political context. The inferior status language can be any minority language (regardless of the numbers of speakers) vis-a-vis a prestigious language.

> Wherever more than one language or language variety exists together their relationship to one another is often asymmetrical. One is perceived as prestigious, desirable and valuable and the other is perceived as inferior, undesirable and extraneous. The problem with language status is that the speakers often accept the perceptions of their language and then adopt the characteristics themselves. Because language status is socially constructed, it can be resisted, challenged and it can change.

The asymmetrical relationship of language status is not static because it is socially constructed. According to Gramsci (1971), any ideology promoted by dominant social and political individuals and groups can achieve hegemony. In order to do so, however, promoters must convince the public that the ideology, such as the hegemony or domination of English, is not only benign but also useful to the individual and to society.

The Irish people suffered many forms of cultural extermination under British rule for over seven hundred years, including the restriction of use of the Irish language. While the English occupied Ireland, English was the language of education, government, business and the social life of the privileged. Irish was the language of the rural west, poverty and subjugation. Furthermore, the English language accompanied the spread of imperial England throughout the world. Ireland was simply the colony closest to England.

Many of the Irish people who have emigrated out of Ireland have done so as English speakers. One explanation is that the vast majority have been destined for host countries that are English-speaking, including England herself. Another, of course, is that some level of bilingualism involving both Irish and English has been the linguistic heritage of most Irish in the more recent past. But more importantly, the relationship between Irish and English by the middle of the nineteenth century was marked by the domination of English and the low status of Irish.

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[1] In 1925 the government, which had gained independence from England, created a commission to define the Gaeltacht areas (Ó Riagáin, 1994).

Individuals who take an interest in a minority language that has a low status and is endangered are typically known as language activists. Such individuals have been championing Irish in various ways since the latter part of the nineteenth century. Language activists have a keen sense of the status of Irish vis-à-vis English and how it has changed over time. The following are excerpts from a conversation among language activists reflecting on earlier times. These individuals would be among those educated, middle-class Irish who now have young adult children who took an interest in reviving Irish among English speakers in the 50's and 60's. Here Brian and his wife, Áine and their friend Clionna discuss attitudes towards Irish among emigrees:[2]

> Áine: Yes, and they could have felt a sense of denial, you know, loss. A sense of denial. They would have wanted to turn their back on Ireland . . . .That they felt the country had let them down and they just wanted to forget about anything in Ireland. They were starting a new life.
> Clionna: And it was associated with poverty and lack of opportunity and that was one of the reasons why, you know, that [ ] they needed to learn in English and they didn't want to, I think.
> Brian: [A prominent historian has] said that one of the most important events of the 19th century was not the famine, but was the fact that at the beginning of the century the majority of the Irish people spoke the Irish language and at the end of the century. . .
> Áine: It was almost gone.

In the following excerpt, Brian points out, and Áine agrees, that, in his view, the low status of Irish at the end of the nineteenth century was not due alone to the domination of English. He believes that the negative associations with Irish along with the hegemony of English influenced the demise of the language at the time.

> Brian: And it may be something about a mixture of an association with the reasons they gave up it wasn't all, it wasn't all pressure from the English, It had to with a feeling that Irish was backward. It was associated with poverty.
> Áine: And with the lower classes.

In any case, these views show that the relative language status between Irish and English has been asymmetric. However, the status of the languages is a matter of perspective and perception. Thus, the speakers of a prestigious language, like English in most current contexts, often adopt the prestigious status of the language. On the other hand, speakers of minority languages might perceive themselves as inferior. Both of these situations can have negative consequences. For whatever reason, those with prestige status have opportunities to exercise their privilege in ways that oppress those who lack it. Undoubtedly, the dominance, socially and politically, of the English language in Ireland for the last 700 years and has had an effect on how the Irish people regard English and Irish. English was forced upon the Irish, not only by legislation (Penal Laws) that outlawed the use of Irish, but also by the social and economic forces that made acquiring English seem to make more sense than maintaining Irish.

The Irish language has never succumbed entirely to extinction despite the hegemonic forces of English although its darkest hour was just before the beginning of the 20th century. The Great Famine and emigration in combination with other economic and social forces meant that by this time the language was languishing. However, the language has been supported since that time by certain social organizations such as *Conradh na Gaeilge* and *Bord na Gaeilge* and other formal and informal groups of language activists (Tovey, 1988). In recent times, the most successful effort by language activists has been the proliferation of All-Irish schools.

All-Irish schools

All-Irish schools, or *Gaelscoileanna*, are government-funded schools in which all subjects are taught through the medium of the Irish language. The students in these schools are mostly native English speakers. Increasingly, however, more children come from homes where Irish was their first language or both Irish and English are spoken in the home and the children arrive at school as bilinguals.[3] The concept of schooling through Irish is not new, although when public schooling began in Ireland for Irish children in the early 1800's, the medium of instruction was English. In fact, Irish was nowhere to be found in schools or public life at the time due to British restrictions on Irish life and culture in general.

In 1922, Ireland gained independence from England although six counties (out of a total of 32) remained a part of Great Britain. The six counties are known now as Northern Ireland and the 26 counties that were included in the agreement for independence are referred to collectively as Ireland.

The new Irish government sought ways to reclaim Irish culture along with independence. A major feature of the culture is the Irish language and the government established policies that would help to promote and support it. Among those policies has been the right for Irish parents to secure an education for their children through Irish.

Following independence, this right was claimed by many Irish parents, however, by the 1950's and 1960's, interest waned. The appeal of English in a country that was widely English speaking, if not bilingual in Irish and English, was one major factor in detracting attention from Irish in schools. On the other hand, Irish was a graduation requirement in order to secure a position in the government civil service and other government jobs including teaching. A career in the civil service was highly attractive to many Irish people who had not become accustomed to receiving education beyond the secondary level. Women, in particular, fell into this category. With Irish minimally as a requirement in school and maximally as an incentive to attaining better than average post graduate employment, Irish language in schools remained in place.

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[2] All names are psuedonyms.

[3] These All-Irish schools are distinct from those in the Gaeltacht.

Unfortunately, in 1977 when the graduation requirements regarding Irish were eliminated for civil service employment (although, of course, they remained for teaching), the Irish language became relegated to a subject in school, albeit a compulsory one. By the late 1960's, many parents and students alike regarded Irish in school as a required but otherwise extraneous subject. Since Irish as a language of communication in Irish society was almost entirely restricted to the *Gaeltacht* by this time, its place at school was diminishing in importance.

The generation of Irish who had either attended All-Irish schools while their popularity was strong or who had had other positive experiences with the language, however, inspired a new interest in the language and in providing their own children with schooling through Irish. In the early 1970's there were fewer than twenty All-Irish schools in Ireland. By 1998, there were over 150 outside of the *Gaeltacht*.

The study

I carried out an ethnographic study of the All-Irish schools in Ireland over nine months during 1996-1997 while I was a visiting scholar at ITÉ (Linguistics Institute of Ireland).[4] I visited over fifteen schools throughout Ireland and Northern Ireland and I was in contact with language activists and scholars regarding the revival (and survival) of Irish throughout that time.[5] I chose the schools I visited through a purposeful selection process with the guidance experienced scholars and staff at ITÉ, language activists and intuition during data collection.

Most of the schools I visited were primary schools located in urban areas.[6] The vast majority of All-Irish schools during the time of the study were primary schools in urban areas, thus I focused more attention on those schools. I did visit, however, several suburban schools outside of Dublin and rural schools on the east and west coasts.

The socioeconomic status of the schools' communities ranged from low to middle/upper middle. Two schools were awaiting word on their formal recognition by the Department of Education. While All-Irish schools are guaranteed to parents who request them, the need and demand for a school must be established. The documentation is the responsibility of the group of parents who apply for an All-Irish school. Often the application process consumes several years and many private dollars before a school obtains official recognition.[7]

A letter of introduction from ITÉ was sent to the principals of prospective schools in the study.[8] I then followed up with a phone call to arrange a visit; ultimately, the principals determined their school's participation in the study. After gaining initial entre, I asked principals to help me arrange to have conversations with teachers, parents, students, and other interested members of the community. I eventually spoke with dozens of individuals representing each school.[9]

All-Irish Schools and attitudes towards Irish

Over the course of the past century, attitudes towards Irish have ebbed and flowed. At times when attitudes have been positive, response to the language activists' call for the survival and revival of Irish has been correspondingly positive. The reverse is also true. For example, in the 60s the Language Freedom Movement fostered severely negative attitudes toward the Irish that children learned at school. By that time there were few All-Irish schools outside of the *Gaeltacht* and Irish had been relegated to the school curriculum as a compulsory subject. Parents and teachers complained of the nature of the study of Irish as a compulsory subject and sought to have it removed entirely from the curriculum. The movement quietly died and ironically led to the next movement for the return of All-Irish schools.

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[4] My research was carried out independently of ITÉ. I was on sabbatical from the University of Colorado at Denver and my work, views and interpretations presented here are entirely mine and not that of ITÉ.

[5] I have continued regular contact with scholars and language activists regarding the Irish language. I also spend a minimum of one month per year in Ireland to extend the ethnographic perspective as well as to study the Irish language in the *Gaeltacht*.

[6] Specifically, these schools were in the preschool (4 year old) to 6th grade range (12 year old). The newer schools or those that had yet achieved government recognition typically ranged up to first or second grade with plans for expansion. The entire population of Ireland including Northern Ireland is approximately 5.5 million. That population is concentrated in the urban areas of Dublin in the south and Belfast in the north. With the exception of one urban school, I visited schools in the two major urban areas.

[7] The application process and the politics involved vary considerably from case to case, discussion of which is beyond the scope of this article. That is not to say that this issue is paramount in a full discussion of All-Irish schools, particularly as the Irish demand more and more All-Irish schools.

[8] This letter was written in Irish and in it my affiliation with ITÉ was fully explained in order to reassure potential participants that official inspection of their program was not the purpose of my inquery. Further, the letter informed them that their cooperation would be entirely voluntary and that their anonymity would be insured.

[9] After obtaining individual permission, I taperecorded all conversations. Included in the data collection, I obtained school documents, policy, procedure and historical documents and information from the Irish government and I spoke with anyone who showed an interest in discussing All-Irish schools and the state and future of the Irish language.

In the following excerpt from an interview with a mother who currently has her children in an All-Irish school, we hear about the change in attitudes:

> I studied Irish in school and I always liked it and I was good at it. And because I had an ear for Irish because all my life even though my father mightn't have spoken directly to me I would walk to Mass with him and walk home with him and be out in the fields with him because we lived out on a farm and I would just hear him speaking Irish and I picked it up without even knowing it. He always sang Irish songs . . . so I knew an awful lot of Irish songs even as a child of seven or eight. So the Irish isn't a problem, it was never a problem to me to learn it, do you know what I mean? I never found it difficult and I would say that I had a positive attitude. Which I found a lot of my classmates for instance or people my age would not have had a positive attitude towards it. They would all say 'Oh, it's very difficult! It's useless! I hate it!'

Individuals like this mother began in the early 70's with their own children to explore viable ways to involve the Irish in school and in their lives with positive attitudes. The All-Irish school movement grew out of these efforts. All-Irish schools address several key issues in the vitality of the Irish language. First, they have Irish as a "living language" as opposed to a compulsory subject as school. Second, the standard for Irish for the students in these schools is far higher than it could ever be as a school subject and like a foreign language. Overall, their children would learn Irish in as natural way possible within a school and grow to love the language.

The following excerpts are from conversations with mothers of children attending an All-Irish school outside of Dublin. These conversations took place during their own Irish class offered at the school for parents. These parents would have had Irish as a compulsory subject in school.

> Sheila: Regardless of how bad the experience was with Irish in your own schooling, it's a long time to be exposed to the language. Do you feel like this good experience is awakening some of that? Or do you really feel like you didn't learn it?
>
> Mother 1: No. It does come back. It does come back. But the thing that [the teacher] would say and just suddenly you'd remember.
>
> Mother 2: But I can't believe we did it for so long. I can't believe that I did it for so long and remember so little. But like if I did French, I'm sure I'd do a lot better.
>
> Mother 3: It's the attitude as well.
>
> Mother 2: If you did, say, French and German and Irish, you would have a completely different attitude to learning French than you would have to learn Irish.
>
> Mother 1: It's almost like a noose around your neck. Whereas you **wanted** to learn French or German or whatever other language as well.
>
> Mother 2: I think French and German were seen as useful whereas school Irish wasn't seen as such.
>
> Mother 3: I don't know. I think it's more hated. Like you say to a child going to a normal school and you say Irish and they "Ugh! I hate it!" . . . Whereas here, it's a living thing. They get to see it alive.

Recall that Fishman poses Ireland as a special case because the language has a state. Although the winning of independence in the 20's did not inspire widespread efforts to revive Irish as had been hoped, the reasons that parents gave me for sending their children to All-Irish schools typically included some form of nationalism. Nowhere was this more evident than in Northern Ireland. The following are a mother's comments about why she chose an All-Irish school in Belfast for her son.[10]

> It was, I suppose, a political decision. And I thought he would be able to go anywhere in the 32 counties and to put himself forward for a job. So that was my main thinking behind putting him in an Irish school. So that he would be, when he came out of the Irish school he would have some awareness of the fact that he was an Irish person and that he would look beyond the six counties...That if he spoke the language that his identity would be confirmed and that he wouldn't have any question about who he was or where he came from. So it was very much a political decision.

In contrast with Northern Ireland, in Ireland, parents rarely mentioned political reasons for sending their children to All-Irish schools. A father with two daughters in a secondary school in Dublin made this observation about the difference between motivations for All-Irish schools in Northern Ireland (Belfast) and in Ireland (Dublin):

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[10] This school as well as five others in Northern Ireland are British government recognized and supported schools.

> I've seen different motivations and different results from people sending their kids to Irish-speaking schools. I've been working in Belfast recently in the same building where the second level school is there in West Belfast. The context there is totally different the places down here don't have any experience of that. It's more a more charged, emotive, physically influenced environment. But they're very dedicated.

Throughout my interviews everyone discussed a sense of pride and identity of being Irish and how the language enhanced those sentiments. In the national media, however, Irish people who are not language activists and who are not involved in the All-Irish schools movement regularly voice their concerns about the revival of Irish. Many assume that language activists are somehow attempting to replace English with Irish rather than achieving a goal of bilingualism. Also, some outside of the language movement believe that those inside it are critical of monolingual English speakers and that Irish people who do not speak Irish are less Irish. The following is an excerpt from a letter to the editor of The Irish Times in response to an article by a language activist in which he accused English-speaking Irish people of "continuing in the path of their forefathers, who deliberately chose to discard their ancestral language in favour of English.":

> As someone who was born on the eastern seaboard in an all English-speaking environment, in other words whose native tongue is not Irish, I bitterly resent the superior more-Irish-than-thou attitude of X. I am deeply proud of my Irish nationality, and quite sure of my identity as an Irishman in spite of my inability to speak Irish fluently.[11]

Of course, there are always zealots, but I never encountered anyone who espoused Irish monolingualism and the replacement of English. But the positive atmosphere surrounding the language in the All-Irish schools was striking. The All-Irish schools I visited without exception were schools where it was clear that everyone was happy to be there. Principals greeted me warmly and openly, teachers were eager to speak to me, students were happy to have me observe them in classes. In fact, on several occasions, parents lined up to meet with me and to give me their impressions, tell me about their experiences, and their joy of having their children at schools where Irish as a living language.

Many parents explained that in addition to the revival of the language, the All-Irish schools invariably had solid reputations of high academic quality. Particularly parents with children in secondary schools were concerned with whether the All-Irish school could produce exam results that exceeded those of ordinary schools. For them, the experiment wouldn't have been worth it.

Parents who choose an All-Irish school for their children often do not speak Irish themselves. Of course they would have studied the language as a subject in school, but as noted above, they would not have engaged with it as a living language. Many teachers and principals I spoke with said that even if the parents' Irish was poor, their attitude toward it was very important for the children to do well at the All-Irish school and to attain a good level of Irish. One principal of a suburban Dublin school stated:

> The attitude is very important even maybe more so if you can say more so that the amount of Irish that they can speak in the home that they must have a very positive attitude towards the language. I find if parents and I do advise parents if they're doubtful about what they're doing that they're better off not sending the child because the child can absorb those feelings, I think, from the parents, and then the child can feel that there's something there that shouldn't be there. And I don't think that helps the child. But I think that if the attitude in the home is positive, then it doesn't present any difficulty for the child.

All-Irish schools and their impact on the revival of Irish

The impact of the All-Irish schools on the revival of Irish remains to be carefully measured or monitored. There is no question, however, that the Irish people are increasingly interested in schooling through Irish judging from the dramatic increase in the number of schools. The director of a parent planning group commented:

> Well, we've never lost a school yet. I don't know how we haven't. But, yea, it is phenomenal. It's very difficult.

And then I asked if the All-Irish school movement will continue to which she replied:

> We don't know really. Really . . . . I mean it depends so much on the Department of Education's policies in the future government. But I think it also depends so much on research on adequate teaching materials being available in the future. I mean it's not going to be static. It is going to continue to evolve but you know I think without an adequate understanding of what's actually happening in the schools, we don't know how good or how bad they are. And

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[11] The Irish Times September, 1997

> tentative research would seem to suggest that they are doing pretty well. Without standardized tests or qualified inspectors it is really very difficult to say.

Fishman seems to agree with that observation although only a decade ago he believed that All-Irish schools were promising but limited to the middle class.

> These all-Irish schools are now governmentally supported and it remains to be seen whether any real growth in their numbers, in their proportion of all schools and in their excellence can be maintained and augmented., At the moment they are a small and still fragile phenomenon, one that is very promising but also one that reaches only a very limited proportion of all of Ireland's children. Almost all of them being *de facto* restricted to middle-class clienteles. 139

As we have seen, that the "fragile phenomenon" has indeed grown strong. But my research showed consistently that the interest in All-Irish schools has not been restricted to the middle class. There is one primary school in one of the most economically depressed areas of outer Dublin that was established over 25 years ago. In this community a famous set of "tower blocks," public housing, is now slated for demolition. The evening before visiting that school, I viewed a documentary on a regular Irish television program that included interviews with residents of the towers. The interviews were in Irish. In the teachers' lounge during lunch the next day everyone was discussing the program and who appeared in it. Many were former students of the school and parents of children attending the school then. All spoke in Irish.

While visiting another school that had been recently recognized, the principal made the following comment:

> But here a lot of the parents who would be interested in the language were working class parents and parents who had very little. And so from that end I was surprised, right enough, because I hadn't come across that before. And even though then again they would have had to worry about the bread and butter issues and, of course, language would be down on their list but they were very interested in the language from the very beginning.

I also visited schools in rural areas that are typically economically depressed. The enthusiasm for the schools was equal to that I found in Dublin. And the fact that several schools thrive in working-class Belfast truly belies the belief that the middle class exclusively seek All-Irish schools for their children.

In addition to the appeal of All-Irish schools to all sectors of Irish society, the public is beginning to recognize their role in the revitalization of the language. Recently, the Department of Education of Ireland removed a restriction on secondary teachers that they pass an Irish exam if they did not use Irish in their teaching. A report in the Irish Times on the department's decision highlights some common beliefs[12]

> It is also the case that the Irish requirement for secondary teachers glossed over the poor use of the language by most citizens. According to the 1996 Census, 43 per cent of Irish people said that they could speak Irish, but two-thirds of these never spoke it or spoke it less than once a week. Other surveys have shown that only about 70,000 adults, or three per cent of the population, speak Irish on a daily basis. In this context, the requirement on secondary teachers was unfair and unjust. The irony is that this kind of compulsion and similar measures, which have now been abolished, did nothing to boost the language; indeed it may have fostered a certain resentment among some. But the extraordinary growth of the *Gaelscoileanna* across this State and the thousands who continue to pursue Irish language classes in their own time indicates how Irish can grow and prosper. It does not need to be buttressed by restrictive measures on teachers, or any other sector.

Clearly, this reporter has noticed the critical role the All-Irish schools have in promoting the Irish language. Other efforts by the government to promote the language by placing conditions on teachers, by requiring the language as a subject, by requiring the language for government jobs and third level education placement have not been seen as effective measures. Indeed, as this reporter states, these efforts may well be a source of resentment and negative attitudes towards the language. The All-Irish schools, in contrast, provide a positive approach to the language and one that many have embraced.

Fishman believes that the All-Irish schools movement is worthy of being the goal for Irish at this point. He refers to this accomplishment as intergenerational transmission of **school** Irish. The students from All-Irish schools go on to be parents who send their own children to All-Irish schools. How Irish is revived beyond that is another question.

While the standard of Irish that students achieve through All-Irish schools is dramatically higher than that that most students achieve in ordinary schools, it is by and large, learner language as opposed to native speaker language and Irish that is heavily influenced by English (Ó Baoill, 1979). Students in All-Irish schools do not use the language outside of school or their homes. This fact was evident by living in Dublin, traveling throughout the country and interacting with many language activists. There are very few natural contexts for young people who attend All-Irish schools to use the language. Therefore, their Irish is not enriched by use and by interacting regularly with native Irish speakers. In fact, I found little formalized relationships between the speech communities created by All-Irish schools and those within the *Gaeltacht*. However, whenever I inquired about connections between particular schools and *Gaeltacht* communities most principals and teachers talked about plans to create them.

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[12] The Irish Times June 25, 1999

Having said that, it is now true that there are more speakers of Irish as a second language than there are native speakers. The Irish that will live on through second language speakers will be quite different from the language transmitted intergenerationally by native speakers. This fact disturbs some language activists and many linguists. Some say, however, that it is the price they must pay for the robust way that the All-Irish schools have improved the state and status of Irish. As one school principal and native speaker of Irish stated: "Aye, it's not the beautiful sound and words of my grandfather, but it's also not dead."

The revitalization of Irish will be successful if the All-Irish schools continue to grow in numbers. The more schools there are, the greater the demand for proficient Irish speaking teachers (highly proficient, in order to teach in the language). The more graduates of these schools, the greater the possibility for the language to spill out into Irish society. The more the graduates send their own children to All-Irish schools, the stronger the intergenerational transmission of school Irish. When the numbers of second language speakers of Irish grow to be large enough to naturally connect with the native speakers in the *Gaeltacht*, i.e. when revitalization meets survival, Irish may have a fighting chance.

Conclusion

Focusing on Irish in Reversing Language Shift Fishman recommends that

> Ireland is a test case that all RLSers everywhere must ponder carefully, so that the [sic] can benefit from its lessons. . . . (p. 143)

The wisdom that Fishman brings to the Irish case is that complete reversal of language shift may not be possible even when a language has a state as does Irish. But complete reversal of language shift does not have to be the goal, at least in the short term (however long that may be). A significant part of Irish society has changed and is now bilingual (naturally, a form of diglossia). Keeping that spirit alive is quite likely because Ireland is a state and the Irish are becoming more comfortable being Irish including acknowledging that their language is vital. A native speaking teacher summed up the role of the All-Irish schools with these observations:

> The *Gaeilge* is winning the whole time [with All-Irish schools]. And now we have no right to let the *Gaeilge* die. We'll have it for our lifetime and and we have no right to deprive future generations of their language, do you know, so it's up to us to keep it going. That's my theory on it. You have to live in Irish somehow, so.

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Kura Kaupapa Maori - Immersion Schooling in New Zealand

Jeanette King
Maori Department, University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand
[j.king@maori.canterbury.ac.nz]

Abstract

The first Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori immersion school) opened in 1985 as a development from the Maori language pre-school initiative, Te Kohanga Reo. Both initiatives are not only concerned with language revitalisation but also encompass educational, political and cultural objectives. As a Maori conceived and implemented school system Kura Kaupapa Maori differ from bilingual units (sometimes called immersion units) in mainstream schools, which have developed under state aegis. Kura Kaupapa Maori are also distinguished by adherence to a set of guiding principles called Te Aho Matua. Children at Kura Kaupapa Maori are taught totally in the Maori language. Linguistic, educational and social outcomes for Kura Kaupapa Maori have been little studied but appear positive. There are currently 59 state-funded Kura Kaupapa Maori throughout the country teaching 4505 pupils. This represents 18.4% of the total number of Maori children in immersion education. Concerns exist about teacher training and the availability of Maori language resources.

Introduction

In the 1996 Census[1] there were 523,371 Maori people in New Zealand, comprising 15% of the total population. The National Maori Language Survey,[2] undertaken in 1995, indicates that 59% of Maori can speak the Maori language to some extent. However there are only about 22,000 highly fluent speakers (8% of the Maori population), three-quarters of whom are aged 45 years and over.

Kura Kaupapa Maori is a schooling system designed, implemented and administered by Maori for Maori. Kura Kaupapa are often described as Maori immersion schools, but this term is eschewed by those involved, lest they be confused with immersion units in mainstream schools.[3]

Kura Kaupapa Maori is not just a language revitalisation initiative. It aims to provide a Maori-friendly educational system which will produce successful bilingual and bicultural Maori children (Ka'ai 1991; G. Smith 1991).

The first Kura Kaupapa Maori was established in 1985 and was quickly followed by several others. Initially funded almost totally by parents, arrangements for state funding for six schools were instituted in 1990. Increasing numbers of Kura Kaupapa were established and given state funding in subsequent years. At the first of January 1999 there were fifty-nine state-funded Kura Kaupapa Maori, teaching 4505 pupils. The growth in the number of Kura Kaupapa is indicated in Figure 1.

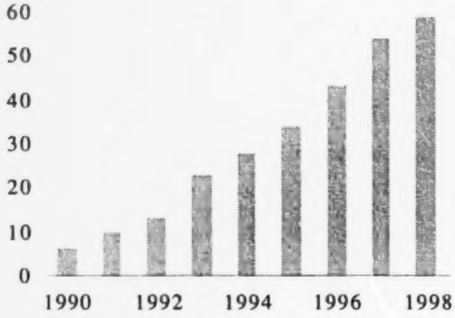

Figure 1: Number of State-funded Kura Kaupapa Maori

However, these figures are rather artificial as they represent only those schools which have state funding. Up until 1997 the government policy was to establish only five new Kura Kaupapa Maori a year. Presently there are 14 firm applications for Kura Kaupapa Maori status dating from 1992 to 1998, with another four pending, and another seven existing schools that have indicated that they would like to change to Kura Kaupapa Maori status. Given approval these new and redesignated schools would raise the numbers of Kura Kaupapa Maori to eighty-four.

Most Kura Kaupapa provide education for the first six years of a child's schooling with an increasing number expanding to continue education until the child reaches school leaving age.

Te Kohanga Reo

'[The] Kohanga Reo Movement ... quickly became the vanguard of an indigenous Maori education system' (Waho, 1993:1).

One cannot understand what Kura Kaupapa Maori is without exploring its genesis in Te Kohanga Reo. Te Kohanga Reo began in 1981 after a meeting of prominent Maori elders were presented with the results of a study on the state of the Maori language (Benton 1978). Elders were told that few children were learning Maori as their first tongue, and that if there were no children being raised as speakers of a language, then the language was dead. It was then that the idea of Maori pre-schools was proposed (Ka'ai, 1990). But Te Kohanga Reo has always had a wider philosophy than just language revitalisation.

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[1] Statistics New Zealand, 1997.

[2] Te Puni Kokiri, 1998.

[3] Immersion units are also referred to as bilingual units. This is discussed further on.

Knowing the inter-relationship between language and culture, it is not surprising that if minority language speakers develop their own language revitalisation initiative, like Te Kohanga Reo, it will centre on a culturally expressive philosophy. Te Kohanga Reo was founded on the idea of whanau (extended family)[4] involvement. Kohanga Reo was therefore always more than just a child-care centre, where children might be left by parents. Although run under the auspices of Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, each Kohanga is autonomous. Thus the whole community is involved in, and responsible for, the day to day running of the Kohanga.

Through Te Kohanga Reo, Maori adults became involved in the pre-school education of their children, nieces, nephews and grandchildren. This meant dealing with a range of employment, health, safety, and curriculum issues, which upskilled and politically empowered Maori adults, many of whom had been alienated from the schooling system in their own childhoods.

As Te Kohanga Reo graduates began entering the school system, it was discovered that, according to some commentators, children were losing their Maori language in two weeks to three months (Findlay, 1993). Political awareness meant that Maori parents were not only concerned about linguistic detriments posed by state schooling, but were dissatisfied 'with state education generally, given outcomes of disproportionate levels of inequality'[5] which had become almost endemic. Maori pupils' appearance in the crisis statistics related to schooling had long been both 'high and disproportionate' (Smith, 1990b:196). Addressing both the linguistic and educational failure of the education system for Maori became the main foci of the Kura Kaupapa movement.

Bilingual schooling

'Any blurring of the lines between Kura Kaupapa Maori and bilingual units ... would negate the very purpose of Kura Kaupapa Maori' (Rata 1989).

Te Kohanga Reo children were losing their language when they entered the school system. But why did Kura Kaupapa Maori develop, when there was already a Maori language schooling model and option available, in the form of the dozen or so bilingual schools scattered throughout the country? Bilingual schools had been established from 1976 onwards, mostly at the behest of rural or semi-rural Maori communities (Education Review Office, 1995:1). The aim was not to ease Maori children into English proficiency, as has been the aim of many bilingual schools in other places around the world (Keegan, 1996). Rather, the bilingual schools were founded as a language revitalisation initiative, recognising the importance of Maori language having 'a legitimate place in the formal education of Maori children' (Harrison, 1987:1).

Indeed, bilingual classes or 'units', modelled on the mainly rural bilingual schools, did develop from the mid-1980s along with Kura Kaupapa Maori, as a response to the numbers of children graduating from Kohanga Reo. Typically bilingual units are a single class or unit (two or more classes) established within an English speaking school, usually providing continuous education in some degree of Maori immersion for the child's six year primary schooling.

Like Kura Kaupapa Maori, these units have mushroomed throughout the country, and today they provide education at levels of over 50% immersion in Maori for 11,275 pupils[6] (Ministry of Education, 1999). In fact, the most preferred option for Te Kohanga Reo graduates is bilingual units within general schools. The reasons for this are discussed further on.

But some parents didn't see bilingual units as the best option for their Kohanga Reo graduates. Bilingual units are usually physically located within a school where English is the norm. Therefore much of the good work that may be achieved in the classroom can be undermined in the playground and assembly hall.

Parents observed that teachers in bilingual schools could revert to English if they got out of their linguistic depth in an instructional situation. It was also difficult for teachers, dependent on resources produced in English, to maintain a consistent Maori speaking environment where there was no compulsion to do so. Some parents saw the use of English in bilingual unit classes as giving a covert message to children that Maori was a second class language which could not cope with sophisticated expression throughout the whole curriculum.

Bilingual schooling was also seen as an initiative that 'began within the structures;'[7] rather than being a Maori schooling system conceived and implemented outside the state system.

Accordingly, some parents looked to Te Kohanga Reo, rather than bilingual schools, for a model for an appropriate schooling system for their children. And so, Kura Kaupapa Maori was born. Interestingly, most stand alone bilingual schools have changed to Kura Kaupapa Maori status in recent years; their bilingual legacy remaining with bilingual classes and units running within general schools.

With regard to bilingual schooling, an interesting development is the term 'immersion unit' being used in preference to 'bilingual unit'. This change in nomenclature is being advanced by some in the Ministry of Education[8] on the basis that bilingualism is the outcome, and immersion is the method. There may also be a wish to avoid confusion with bilingual schooling in other countries which aimed at transferring children's language from the minority to majority language. Previously, for many parents in New Zealand, the word 'immersion' was synonymous with the 'total immersion' provided by programmes such as Kohanga Reo. The new nomenclature seems to diminish the differences between total immersion Kura Kaupapa Maori, and bilingual units, which, in general, teach through various levels of partial immersion.

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[4] The word 'whanau' literally means 'extended family,' and in the education situation refers to the parents, caregivers, staff and community who form the group responsible for management decisions. The evolution of the concept of whanau in the urban environment, especially with regard to Kohanga Reo, is discussed in Metge, 1995.

[5] G. Smith, 1989:26.

[6] Bilingual units also provide education at levels of under 50% Maori immersion for 21,160 pupils.

[7] Smith & Smith, 1989:7-8.

[8] Beau Reweti, Chief Advisor - Maori, Ministry of Education, personal communication.

Immersion schooling

In terms of linguistic environment, nearly 35% of pupils in bilingual classes and units are receiving 'Level One immersion' (81-100% immersion),[9] comparable to the immersion level provided in Kura Kaupapa Maori.

Indeed, statistics from the Ministry of Education,[10] shown in Figure 2, indicate there are more children in Level One immersion education in bilingual classes and units than in Kura Kaupapa Maori.

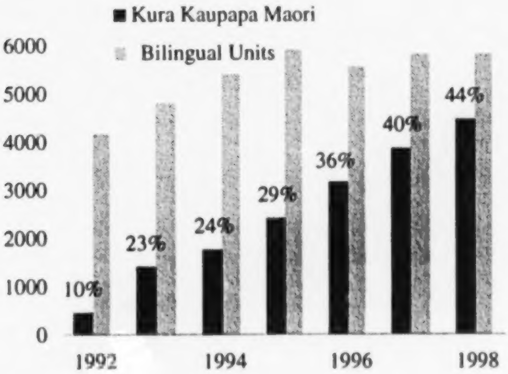

Figure 2: Number of Kura Kaupapa Maori and Bilingual Unit Children in 81-100% Immersion Schooling

However, these figures give a false picture since the level of immersion is only tested once a year, and it is the teacher's language ability and production which is assessed, not that of the children. And while the Maori language level in Level One bilingual classes can range anywhere between 81 and 100%, Kura Kaupapa Maori, for the most part, provide nothing less than 100% immersion.

The percentage figures in Figure 2 show that when compared to the children in bilingual units, the proportion of Kura Kaupapa Maori children in Level One immersion is increasing. Kura Kaupapa Maori are currently teaching 18.4% of the total number of Maori children in immersion education, an increase of 206% since 1993, paralleling the rise in the number of Kura Kaupapa Maori shown in Figure 1. This indicates an increasing acceptance and preference for Kura Kaupapa Maori education among the Maori parents of Kohanga Reo graduates as more Kura Kaupapa Maori are established.

Nevertheless, bilingual units seem to have a firm hold on the Maori immersion market when total numbers are considered. There are 32,435 children in bilingual units[11] compared to 4505 children in Kura Kaupapa Maori.

But there is a difference in the ethnic makeup of the two immersion schooling options. While 99% of Kura Kaupapa Maori children are Maori, the proportion in bilingual units is currently 75%. There has been a steady increase in the proportion of non-Maori attending bilingual units, as shown in Figure 3.

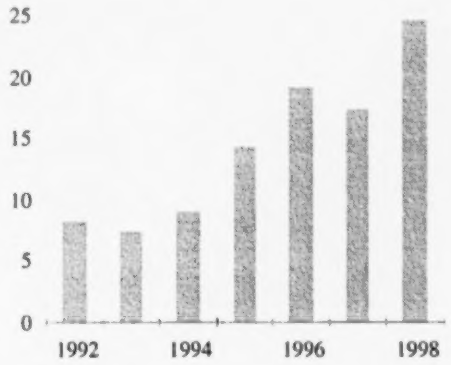

Figure 3: Non-Maori as a Percentage of those Participating in Bilingual/Immersion Unit Education

The largest increase in overall numbers in bilingual units in recent years have been at the lowest level of immersion, where under 30 percent of instruction is in Maori.[12] It is presumably at these lower levels of immersion where most of the non-Maori participants are clustered as few non-Maori enter school having attended Kohanga Reo.[13] Most Kura Kaupapa and Level One immersion classes in bilingual units restrict entry to Kohanga Reo graduates of at least 18 months standing. This is to maintain the best possible language climate amongst the children.

Considering ethnic and immersion level trends, many bilingual units may eventually become classes catering mostly for non-Maori who want a relatively low level of Maori language and culture which doesn't threaten the mainstream culture of the school.

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[9] The Ministry of Education defines four levels of 'immersion teaching' for funding purposes: Level One is 81-100% immersion, Level Two 51-80%, Level Three 31-50% and Level Four <30%.

[10] Ministry of Education, 1999.

[11] Sixty-five percent of these children (21,160) are being taught at an immersion level lower than 50%.

[12] Ministry of Education, 1999.

[13] Ninety-nine percent of Kohanga Reo attendees are of Maori descent.

Conversely, as shown in Figure 2, Kura Kaupapa Maori are undertaking an increasing proportion of Level One immersion education. This reflects the increasing availability of Kura Kaupapa Maori and that Kura Kaupapa is being perceived as the more culturally and linguistically appropriate place for parents wanting total immersion Maori education for their children. As Kura Kaupapa Maori, both individually and collectively, move from a development to a consolidation phase this trend should continue.

Anecdotal evidence[14] is that current Maori immersion teacher trainees prefer the idea of teaching in Kura Kaupapa Maori rather than bilingual units, which are perceived as being under non-Maori control and hegemony. Long-term, many bilingual units may find it increasingly difficult to obtain teachers as the more highly qualified immersion-trained teachers gravitate to Kura Kaupapa Maori.

A 1995 study by the Ministry of Education[15] amongst urban Maori parents indicated that while there may be an increase in Kura Kaupapa Maori enrolments, there may be a larger increase in bilingual unit enrolments among Maori. Respondents, who were parents of primary school age children, were questioned about preferred primary schooling in order to assess future schooling requirements. Just over half of the participating Maori families (56%) expressed a strong preference for a bilingual primary school model, with teaching in both Maori and English. Currently about 27% of Maori primary school children are enrolled in such programmes.[16] Fewer parents and caregivers indicated a preference for schools where teaching was all in Maori (7%). About 4% of Maori primary age school children are currently enrolled in Kura Kaupapa Maori.

However, as Figures 2 and 3 and the above discussion indicate, the situation with regard to Maori schooling is hardly static, and one can question the relevance of sampling Maori parents who had already made a primary schooling choice for their child.

Nevertheless, there are a number of reasons for the current overall popularity of bilingual units compared with Kura Kaupapa Maori. Many parents find it risky to move away from the state system with which they are more familiar. Also, Kura Kaupapa Maori were perceived as being experimental in the early 1990s when they were struggling to get established, and resourcing and teacher training concerns were most extreme.

Despite evidence to the contrary (for example, Keegan, 1996), another concern is that children may not learn English properly. There is an attitude in some quarters that learning Maori gets you nowhere, thus concerns (not always well-founded) for children's job prospects may influence parents towards a bilingual unit in a mainstream school. Nevertheless, in the current climate of settlement monies being disbursed amongst tribes in compensation for Treaty claims, Kura Kaupapa Maori children should be well poised, with marketable skills, to find satisfying employment.

It has been estimated that if all Te Kohanga Reo children were to transfer to Kura Kaupapa Maori as they turn five, we would need up to 130 Kura Kaupapa (Waho, 1996). The numbers of Kura Kaupapa Maori will continue to grow in coming years as there are up to 25 applications to establish new Kura Kaupapa Maori. At this stage, at least in the North Island, most large centres and those more rural areas where the Maori population dominates are well served by Kura Kaupapa Maori.

Kura Kaupapa Maori

The formation of Kura Kaupapa Maori during the late 1980s took place at a time of major educational reform and upheaval in New Zealand (L. Smith, 1992). This generated much discussion throughout the country, encouraging a climate of educational debate and challenge. One of the tenets of the proposed legislation was to allow parental choice and involvement in the schooling system, therefore theoretically endorsing the right of Maori to obtain funding for Kura Kaupapa Maori. However, fledgling Kura Kaupapa Maori seeking state funding were fearful lest the overall falling numbers of school age children at the time would cause the Ministry of Education to decline to build new schools (G. Smith, 1989).

In 1989 the small number of existing privately funded Kura Kaupapa Maori banded together to make government submissions.[17] As a result state funding was achieved for six Kura Kaupapa Maori in 1990. This initiated a new era for the increasing number of Kura Kaupapa throughout the country.

At this point Kura Kaupapa Maori needed a political body to provide both a forum for Kura Kaupapa Maori as well as a vehicle to negotiate with the Ministry of Education (Kia Hiwa Ra, 1993). A parent body, Te Runanga Nui o Nga Kura Kaupapa Maori o Aotearoa, was formed in 1993 at the first national meeting of Kura Kaupapa Maori which was attended by over two hundred people (Waho, 1993).

In 1994 the Runanga signed a protocol agreement with the Ministry of Education which ensures that the Runanga is 'involved in policy and policy implementation development' (Waho, 1996). This position has received legislative force under the recently passed Education (Te Aho Matua) Amendment Act 1999.[18]

The Runanga meets annually and is a much larger body than the numbers of Kura Kaupapa Maori would indicate. For example, in 1996, there were 80 members, including most state funded Kura Kaupapa Maori, others who wish to establish a Kura Kaupapa Maori, and Kura Kaupapa Maori teacher training programmes (Waho 1996).

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[14] Joan Costello, personal communication.

[15] Ministry of Education, 1996; MRL Research Group, 1995

[16] Programmes where the immersion level is between 0 and 80%.

[17] see, for example, Poutu & Waho, 1989 and Sharples, 1989.

[18] Under the Act it is the Runanga which has the power to define Te Aho Matua (see next section) and, therefore, what a Kura Kaupapa is, and which schools may become Kura Kaupapa.

What distinguishes Kura Kaupapa Maori?

He aha te Kura Kaupapa Maori ki te kore
te whanau Maori?...
He aha te Kura Kaupapa Maori ki te kore te reo Maori?...
He aha te Kura Kaupapa Maori ki te kore
Te Aho Matua?...
He aha te Kura Kaupapa Maori ki te kore tikanga me nga
ahuatanga ako a te Maori? (Tobin, 1995)

The quote above explains that Kura Kaupapa Maori would not be Kura Kaupapa Maori without four aspects: whanau (extended family), Maori language, Te Aho Matua (guiding principles), and Maori custom and pedagogy. Each of these four aspects will be addressed separately.

Whanau[19] 'Children are not only taught about whanau, they practise it' (Jackson, 1990).

Although talking about Te Kohanga Reo, Jackson's quote is equally applicable to Kura Kaupapa Maori, where the important whanau focus of Te Kohanga Reo is continued. Under Te Aho Matua the whanau is the controlling body of each Kura Kaupapa Maori. Some Kura Kaupapa interpret this to mean that it is the whole whanau, rather than an elected Board of Trustees as in other schools, which undertake the decision making role. Many Kura Kaupapa require parental involvement as a condition of a child's enrolment at the school.

Reedy (1992) notes that there is far more involvement of Maori parents and extended family in Kura Kaupapa Maori than in other schools. As L. Smith (1992) reminds us, parental control of children's education is a 'necessary component for educational achievement,' so this higher participation rate in itself is a good sign and indicates the potential of Kura Kaupapa Maori as a force for change.

Maori language 'Kura Kaupapa Maori is not simply another type of schooling option. It is the only schooling option that can guarantee the survival of the Maori language' (Rata, 1989:30)

Kura Kaupapa Maori are founded on the Te Kohanga Reo principle of total immersion in Maori, everywhere on site. It is the only schooling option in New Zealand which can provide this, as most bilingual units are physically located in a English-speaking school setting.

Kura Kaupapa Maori take the commitment to 'Maori language only' on site very seriously. Some Kura Kaupapa who run their regular whanau meetings in English,[20] meet off-site for these meetings, and take children off-site for activities which are not able to be provided in Maori.[21] In some Kura Kaupapa Maori playgrounds, in a reversal of the experience of earlier generations, children are reprimanded for speaking English.

As for English language skills, these are not usually taught formally until the children reach 10 to 11 years of age. The experience is that children can hardly avoid acquiring English language outside the school, through involvement in everyday activities, from television to shopping, to playing with other children, and so on.

Kura Kaupapa Maori children can receive little Maori speaking input outside schooling, unless parents are speaking Maori at home. Lack of a Maori language home environment can be due to a range of factors, including lack of parental proficiency in Maori, intermarriage, and the fact that 62% of Maori live in main urban areas rather than smaller communities.

Because of the fact that a child's English language environment is generally larger than the Maori environment provided by the school, the Kura Kaupapa Maori philosophy is to provide 100% Maori immersion in order to meet the aim of producing truly bilingual children. G. Smith (1991) and others claim that, almost without exception, Kura Kaupapa Maori children speak 'very good Maori and very good English.'

Te Aho Matua 'Te Aho Matua... provides the parameters for the uniqueness that is Kura Kaupapa Maori' (G. Smith, 1991:13).

Te Aho Matua is a set of principles written in Maori and agreed to by all Kura Kaupapa Maori who attended the first national meeting in 1993 (Kia Hiwa Ra, 1993). Since then, adoption of Te Aho Matua has became the essential requirement for a group to achieve Kura Kaupapa Maori status for their school.

The principles of Te Aho Matua express the importance of the physical, spiritual, educational, social and linguistic development of the child. It is a holistic document, in that it describes a framework for healthy living and lifetime learning for all those involved in Kura Kaupapa, from child to parents, whanau and school. Te Aho Matua is therefore the heart of the difference between Kura Kaupapa Maori and other forms of immersion schooling which generally lack an overarching philosophy.

In a recent development, adherence to Te Aho Matua has become a legal requirement for a school to be called a Kura Kaupapa Maori.[22] In what is perhaps a first for

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[19] see footnote 4 for a more detailed definition of the word whanau.

[20] Although many Kura Kaupapa Maori provide adult language classes, few are able to run meetings in Maori due to the lack of language ability amongst parents.

[21] For example, sporting activities provided by those who cannot speak Maori.

[22] Section 155 of the 1999 Education (Te Aho Matua) Amendment Act. Most Kura Kaupapa Maori are named

New Zealand, the Kura Kaupapa Maori community's power to define what constitutes a Kura Kaupapa Maori has been recognised and endorsed by New Zealand law.

Maori custom and pedagogy '[Kura Kaupapa Maori] provide not only a total Maori language experience but also a wholly Maori cultural experience all day every day for their children' (G. Smith, 1991:8)

Being Maori and behaving Maori is the norm in Kura Kaupapa Maori,[23] because the control and the personnel is Maori. A 1995 Education Review Office Report describes children in Kura Kaupapa Maori as quite naturally and appropriately exhibiting knowledge of both everyday and formal Maori custom.

With regard to pedagogy, culturally preferred modes of learning such as whakapapa (genealogy), karakia (prayer), whanaungatanga (group relationships and support) and tuakana/teina[24] are evident in Kura Kaupapa Maori.

Outcomes

There has been little research on linguistic, educational and social outcomes of Kura Kaupapa Maori schooling, but, in general, they appear positive.[25] Research conducted by Reedy (1992) of the six Kura Kaupapa Maori initially given state funding, showed good results in language and numeracy skills. Other research showed that 'Kura Kaupapa Maori children are not adversely affected in reading age levels in English'.[26]

A survey conducted by Aspin (1994) found that similarly matched children in mainstream education did not score as well as Kura Kaupapa Maori children did in mathematics. These results replicate those achieved with children being educated in their heritage language in other countries.

One survey indicated concern about the lack of sophistication of the Maori language of Kura Kaupapa Maori pupils and the effect of this on the children's higher metacognative skills (Murphy & Hollings, 1993). Recent research by Reedy and Crombie (this volume) studying the listening, speaking, reading and writing abilities of children in Level One immersion is therefore welcomed.

Kura Kaupapa Maori openly aims for excellence in educational outcomes.[27] By 'providing a schooling environment which culturally 'matches' that of the home' (Ka'ai, 1992:252) Kura Kaupapa Maori is on a sound path towards that goal. If this aim is achieved, and already the results look promising, Kura Kaupapa Maori may well play a large role in improving Maori crisis statistics in education, health, unemployment and crime.

Teacher Training and Resources

'The lack of resources continues to undermine the full potential for development of Maori children at ... [Kura Kaupapa Maori] (Reedy, 1992:7-8)

The mainstream education system in New Zealand is based on physical and curricula infrastructure which has been amassed over 150 years. Kura Kaupapa Maori have only been in existence for 14 years. Resource and teacher training concerns are therefore a continuing challenge for both Kura Kaupapa Maori and Level One bilingual/immersion units.

Although the amount of written Maori language teaching material being produced by the state is increasing, teachers providing Level One immersion are continually obliged to create or translate material suitable for their purposes (Reedy 1992). Teachers are spending many hours out of class time making such resources.

The quality and quantity of teacher training is also another concern. There are only three institutions in the country providing the three-year teacher training for prospective Kura Kaupapa Maori teachers entirely in Maori. Like Kura Kaupapa, these teacher training programmes have not been in existence for many years. Besides improving language fluency[28] the training must also provide pedagogically and culturally appropriate teaching (Ka'ai 1991; Findlay 1993).

There are often incredible demands placed on teachers in Kura Kaupapa Maori and bilingual/immersion units. It is not uncommon for newly graduated teachers to be promoted to senior positions for want of more experienced teachers.[29] Teachers involved in immersion education often also provide cultural and political leadership for both children and the wider whanau, roles mainstream teachers are rarely called on to provide.

The many and various expectations made of Kura Kaupapa Maori teachers in what is, after all, a newly instituted schooling system, still in its development phase, can be debilitating. Takuta Emery (quoted in Kia Hiwa Ra, 1995) is concerned that 'not only do we not have enough fluent and trained teachers, we are losing those we already have because of the lack of resources and the excessive demands placed on them.'

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according to the following pattern: Te Kura Kaupapa Maori o [place name or name of ancestor], and, since the passing of the Act in July 1999, this format must be followed for schools instituted as Kura Kaupapa Maori.

[23] For an analysis of 'cultural capital' and the importance of Kura Kaupapa Maori counter hegemonies see Harker & Nash, 1990.

[24] The relationship between older and younger sibling, where the older teaches the younger. For a more detailed explanation of Maori pedagogy see Ka'ai, 1990.

[25] For an overview, see Keegan, 1996.

[26] Bradley, J. cited in Reedy (1992); comparable to results concerning Navajo in McCarty (1998).

[27] See, for example, Waho (1996) & G. Smith (1990b).

[28] A 1993 study showed that only 36% of teachers in total immersion classes were competent speakers of Maori (Cabe 1997).

[29] In a report by the Education Review Office (1995), three out of nineteen Kura Kaupapa Maori principals had only two years experience as teachers.

Discussion

'... school was not a place for Navajos to be Navajos.' (Dick, 1998:24)

In explaining about how alienating Navajo boarding schools were for Navajo, Dick underscores how a state conceived and implemented schooling system did not work for her people. The aim of Kura Kaupapa Maori is to make a place for Maori to be Maori in 'a school environment that is user-friendly to Maoris' (Pita Sharples, quoted in Findlay, 1993). This will hopefully produce culturally grounded, well educated individuals who will be spiritually equipped to make their place in the world. Tuakana Nepe (quoted in Findlay, 1993) talks about the importance for the Kura Kaupapa Maori child to be 'indoctrinated as Maori and to be reproduced as Maori into a Maori society.'

Like other indigenous peoples world-wide, Maori have typically been alienated in the state education system. By setting up their own schools, and thereby taking control of pedagogy and curriculum, Maori have removed the impediments inherent in a Pakeha[30] setting contracted to perpetuate Pakeha culture.[31]

There are three distinctions between Kura Kaupapa Maori and other bilingual and immersion schooling options in New Zealand, each of which is crucial to the success of Kura Kaupapa.

Kura Kaupapa Maori:

(a) are an initiative designed and implemented by the Maori community,

(b) provide education through total immersion in the Maori language and culture,

(c) adhere to the guiding principles, Te Aho Matua; a physical, spiritual, cultural and developmental blueprint for the individual and the school.

Although it is far too early to definitively state that the Maori language is no longer endangered, it is heartening to note that Kura Kaupapa Maori, and its precursor, Kohanga Reo, are responsible for adding a new domain to the places where the Maori language can be heard: the school.[32] But the challenge now is to securely ensconce Maori language in the home.

As for the lasting impact on state education, G. Smith (1991) argues that the educational reforms initiated through Kura Kaupapa Maori will have 'a greater and more positive impact on Maori education and schooling crisis' than any government initiated reform. This impact began with the establishment of the first Kura Kaupapa Maori in 1985 and continues, with wide-ranging implications in the areas of teacher resources, teacher training, governance, curricula and assessment. Although little recognised by mainstream New Zealand culture, Kura Kaupapa Maori are part of a linguistic and cultural revolution, the effects of which will continue to be heard by other indigenous language revitalisation initiatives worldwide.

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[30] New Zealand Anglo.

[31] For a examination of such arguments see Vercoe (1995).

[32] The other domains are the marae (tribal meeting house and surrounding area) and the church, (National Maori Language Survey, 1995) which were also the main domains found in Benton's study in the mid-seventies (Benton, 1978).

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Abstract

About the UNESCO Advisory Committee for Linguistic Pluralism and Multilingual Education

Tapani Salminen
Department of Finno-Ugrian Studies
University of Helsinki
SF-00100 Helsinki 10
[tasalmin@cc.helsinki.fi]

The committee in question was established last year but its first meeting took place just a couple of days before the FEL conference in Maynooth. UNESCO has recently formulated a policy which, among other things, is aimed at promoting linguistic diversity at all levels of education as well as educational services in indigenous and minority languages. It remains to be seen what concrete results can be achieved, and what the actual role of the committee will be.

The specific tasks of the committee include the promotion of multilingual education and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, the preservation of lesser-used languages, the prevention of language discrimination, and the promotion of multilingualism in electronic networks. Besides these ambitious goals, the committee is asked to advise UNESCO on the preparation and implementation of programmes relating to languages and is also supposed to assist UNESCO in raising money for such programmes.

The committee is composed of twelve people, five from Europe and seven from other continents, appointed for the period of four years. Almost all of the members are educationalists, occasionally with some linguistic training. More information will be available at the FEL conference, and FEL members are invited to express their views about the possible courses taken by the committee to ensure that it will produce more tangible results than just piles of papers with pretty ideas.

Foundation for Endangered Languages

Manifesto

1. Preamble

1.1. The Present Situation

At this point in human history, most human languages are spoken by exceedingly few people. And that majority, the majority of languages, is about to vanish.

The most authoritative source on the languages of the world (Ethnologue, Grimes 1996) lists just over 6,500 living languages. Population figures are available for just over 6,000 of them (or 92%). Of these 6,000, it may be noted that:

- 52% are spoken by fewer than 10,000 people;
- 28% by fewer than 1,000; and
- 83% are restricted to single countries, and so are particularly exposed to the policies of a single government.

At the other end of the scale, 10 major languages, each spoken by over 109 million people, are the mother tongues of almost half (49%) of the world's population.

More important than this snapshot of proportions and populations is the outlook for survival of the languages we have. Hard comparable data here are scarce or absent, often because of the sheer variety of the human condition: a small community, isolated or bilingual, may continue for centuries to speak a unique language, while in another place a populous language may for social or political reasons die out in little more than a generation. Another reason is that the period in which records have been kept is too short to document a trend: e.g. the Ethnologue has been issued only since 1951. However, it is difficult to imagine many communities sustaining serious daily use of a language for even a generation with fewer than 100 speakers: yet at least 10% of the world's living languages are now in this position.

Some of the forces which make for language loss are clear: the impacts of urbanization, Westernization and global communications grow daily, all serving to diminish the self-sufficiency and self-confidence of small and traditional communities. Discriminatory policies, and population movments also take their toll of languages.

In our era, the preponderance of tiny language communities means that the majority of the world's languages are vulnerable not just to decline but to extinction.

1.2. The Likely Prospect

There is agreement among linguists who have considered the situation that over half of the world's languages are moribund, i.e. not effectively being passed on to the next generation. We and our children, then, are living at the point in human history where, within perhaps two generations, most languages in the world will die out.

This mass extinction of languages may not appear immediately life-threatening. Some will feel that a reduction in numbers of languages will ease communication, and perhaps help build nations, even global solidarity. But it has been well pointed out that the success of humanity in colonizing the planet has been due to our ability to develop cultures suited for survival in a variety of environments. These cultures have everywhere been transmitted by languages, in oral traditions and latterly in written literatures. So when language transmission itself breaks down, especially before the advent of literacy in a culture, there is always a large loss of inherited knowledge.

Valued or not, that knowledge is lost, and humanity is the poorer. Along with it may go a large part of the pride and self-identity of the community of former speakers.

And there is another kind of loss, of a different type of knowledge. As each language dies, science, in linguistics, anthropology, prehistory and psychology, loses one more precious source of data, one more of the diverse and unique ways that the human mind can express itself through a language's structure and vocabulary.

We cannot now assess the full effect of the massive simplification of the world's linguistic diversity now occurring. But language loss, when it occurs, is sheer loss, irreversible and not in itself creative. Speakers of an endangered language may well resist the extinction of their traditions, and of their linguistic identity. They have every right to do so. And we, as scientists, or concerned human beings, will applaud them in trying to preserve part of the diversity which is one of our greatest strengths and treasures.

1.3. The Need for an Organization

We cannot stem the global forces which are at the root of language decline and loss.

But we can work to lessen the ignorance which sees language loss as inevitable when it is not, and does not properly value all that will go when a language itself vanishes.

We can work to see technological developments, such as computing and telecommunications, used to support small communities and their traditions rather than to supplant them.

And we can work to lessen the damage:

- by recording as much as possible of the languages of communities which seem to be in terminal decline;
- by emphasizing particular benefits of the diversity still remaining; and
- by promoting literacy and language maintenance programmes, to increase the strength and morale of the users of languages in danger.

In order to further these aims, there is a need for an autonomous international organization which is not constrained or influenced by matters of race, politics, gender or religion. This organization will recognise in language issues the principles of self-determination, and group and individual rights. It will pay due regard to economic, social, cultural, community and humanitarian considerations. Although it may work with any international, regional or local Authority, it will retain its independence throughout. Membership will be open to those in all walks of life.

2. Aims and Objectives

The Foundation for Endangered Languages exists to support, enable and assist the documentation, protection and promotion of endangered languages. In order to do this, it aims:-

(i) To raise awareness of endangered languages, both inside and outside the communities where they are spoken, through all channels and media;

(ii) To support the use of endangered languages in all contexts: at home, in education, in the media, and in social, cultural and economic life;

(iii) To monitor linguistic policies and practices, and to seek to influence the appropriate authorities where necessary;

(iv) To support the documentation of endangered languages, by offering financial assistance, training, or facilities for the publication of results;

(v) To collect together and make available information of use in the preservation of endangered languages;

(vi) To disseminate information on all of the above activities as widely as possible.

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